N DAY ISSUE

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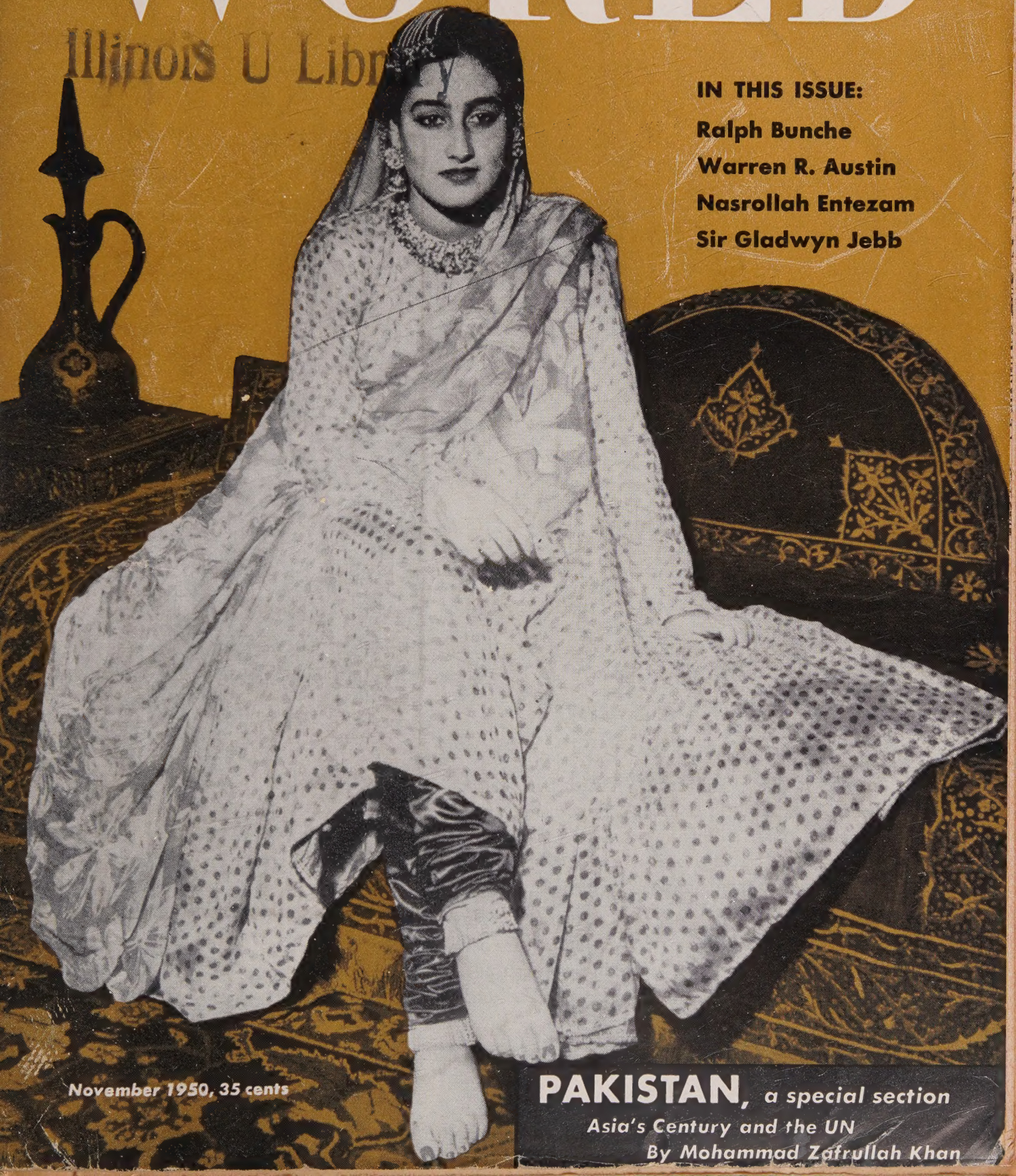

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Ralph Bunche

Warren R. Austin

Nasrollah Entezam

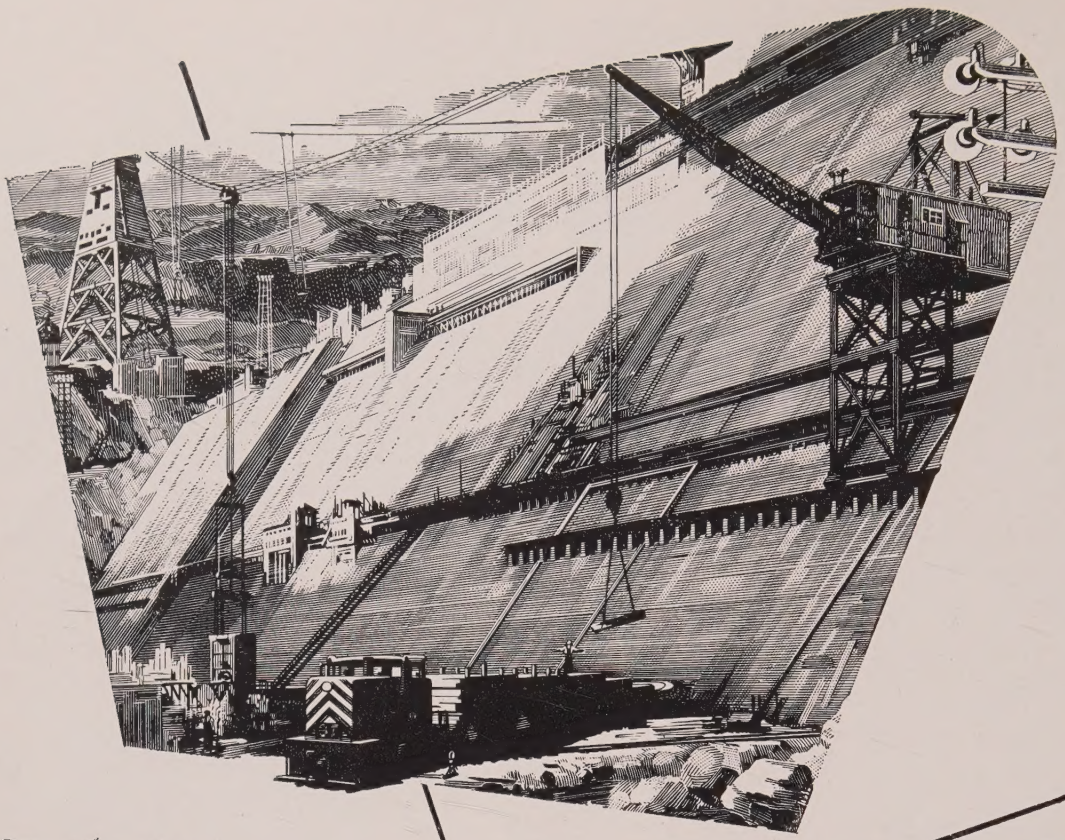
Sir Gladwyn Jebb

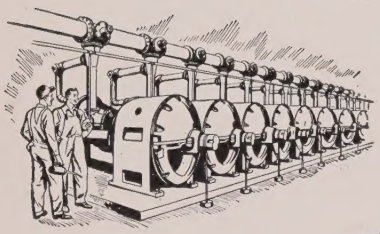
November 1950, 35 cents

PAKISTAN, *a special section*

Asia's Century and the UN

By Mohammad Zafrullah Khan





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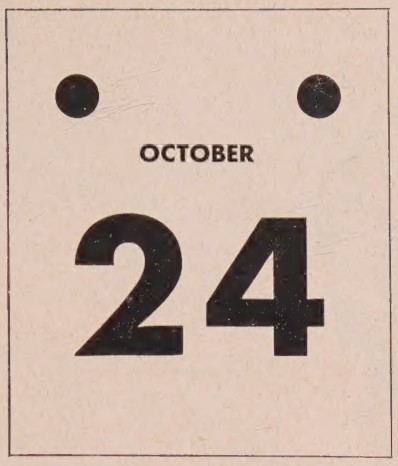

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COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

for OCTOBER 1, 1950

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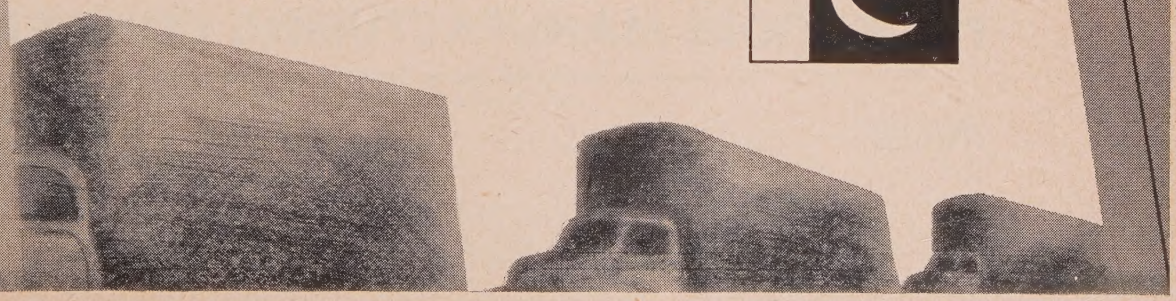

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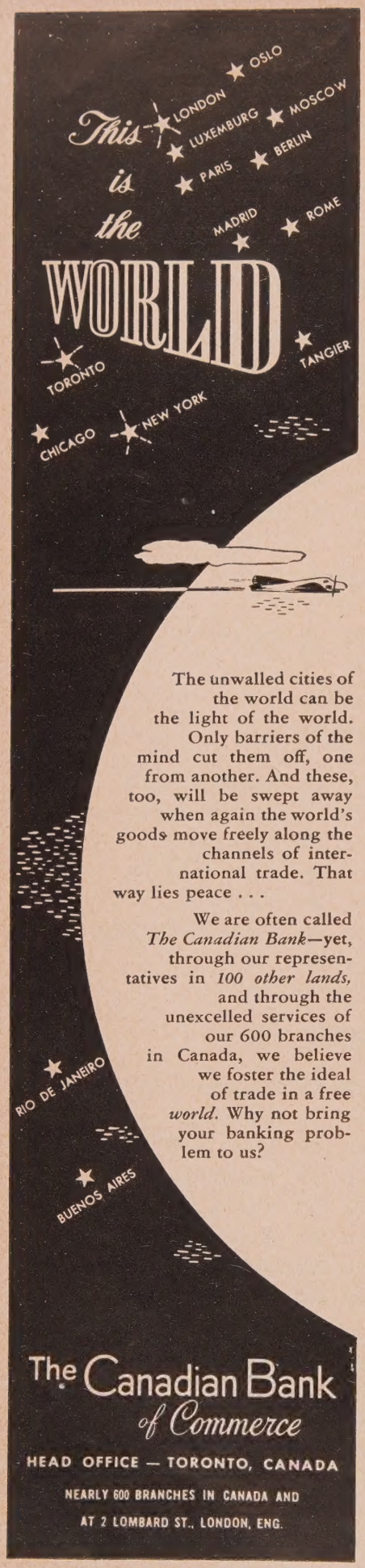
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Europe Has Passed The Crisis

Korean Victory has Raised Hopes, Bonds, Currencies

EUROPEAN repercussions from the UN victory in Korea show immense new confidence and hope for peace. French and Italian communist papers are at their lowest circulation. *L'Humanité* has dropped to 150,000 from 800,000. New signatures to the Stockholm Peace Appeal have practically stopped.

Government bonds of Western Europe and Scandinavia are up 8 per cent, and the price of gold is down 5 per cent. The building industry is booming. Exclusive information is that all currency restrictions may be lifted during the next few months. Car orders at the Paris Automobile Salon, which was the most brilliant display of its kind ever held, were up 10 per cent. French automobile production is one-third higher than prewar; British 25 per cent, Italian 75 per cent, German 100 per cent greater than in 1949.

Thus the most critical period in Europe has been passed. Only three months ago the situation looked hopeless, with the Russians known to have 175 divisions, the US tied up in Korea, and only 10 divisions available in all Western Europe. The reversal of the situation results in the possibility that in 1951, for the first time in recent years, the French elections will bring about a stable government in spite of opposition from the extremes. In the UK, the Labor Government's chance of survival is up 10 per cent. In Belgium, Holland and Scandinavia moderate left democratic socialism is gaining at the expense of the extremes.

The UK is the winner in the US rearmament program because wool, machinery and raw materials are all produced in the sterling area. The greatly increased demand for these in the Western countries has resulted in a sharp rise in price. While this is reflected in Britain's own rearma-

ment costs, its effect has been highly beneficial to the economies of all the Commonwealth nations. This favorable situation is further augmented by the fact that the raw materials price rise is passed on in the prices of the finished products that the UK exports. For those nations, however, which must make large imports for their rearmament programs, the inflationary rise represents a heavy additional burden and also tends to force up consumer goods prices.

The next largest beneficiaries of rearmament are Germany, Switzerland and Belgium. France is leading other Marshall Plan countries in fighting hard at current meetings of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) for a common raw materials buying and price fixing agency. Such an agency, since it would buy and allocate raw materials for all Marshall Plan countries, could check both inflationary trends and the inclination to withhold from export essential and scarce items. The British are absolutely opposed, and there is considerable bitterness toward the UK.

No Arms for Germany

The highest French circles are determined to oppose German rearmament, and a compromise is unlikely. The major arguments are that a rearmed Germany would constitute a new danger spot, involving East and West in intrigue and threatening its neighbors, adding to rather than reducing the war danger.

In case of war, the Germans will give their whole support to the stronger side, the French say. German political cynicism is such that for a long period a decision based on principle is excluded.

Peace Strategy Vital

All Europe feels that the US is not consulting sufficiently with its allies. At present, diplomatic strategy is considered vital in determining a long peace period. European statesmen are convinced that the United Nations is the basic instrument for dealing with Korea and other areas of conflict, and that the continuation of rearmament

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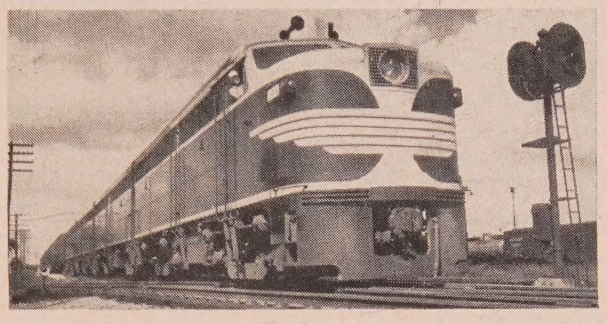

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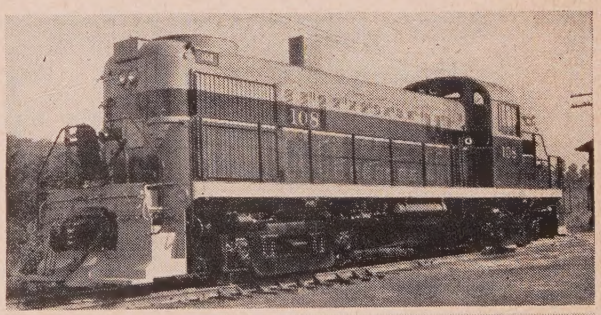

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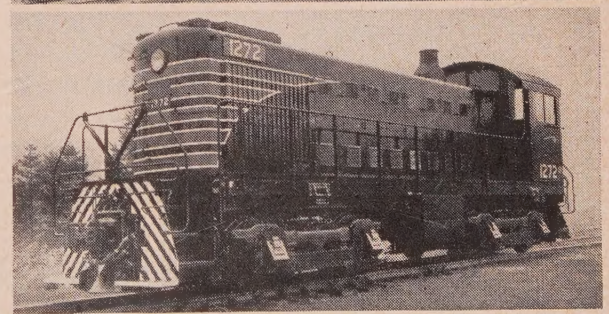

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SOW *continued*

is indispensable but that it parallels the measures that must be taken by the UN for maintaining and enforcing peace. They feel that the West must make a supreme effort to win Asia politically, at least neutralize China, and avoid a major provocation of Russia.

Two years' respite would create a new arms balance, making war impossible for a quarter of a century. Too rough a policy might push Russia to use her present still overwhelming military superiority against Europe.

Korea Victory Aids Israel

This writer has learned that the Arabs were planning a surprise military attack against Israel, in case of a US-UN failure in Korea. Events have completely discouraged this plan, and Transjordan is preparing secret peace negotiations with Israel. Abdullah leads the faction which is convinced that economic cooperation is indispensable. Syrian and Egyptian leaders, on the other hand, are persuaded that a new international crisis would offer the opportunity to bargain their support of the West for the West's abandonment of Israel.

Fear Haunts the Balkans

An attack on Yugoslavia is still greatly feared. The satellites are being encouraged to attack by Soviet arms deliveries and by the economic misery in Yugoslavia. In Israel, this column interviewed refugees from the Balkans who had left only a few days before. They report a new wave of opposition to Communism, particularly from the extreme right. The walls in Rumania are covered with inscriptions: **"Stop the Jews from leaving. Every one is needed for the Big Slaughter on the Day of Reckoning. Antonescu was too mild. This time None Shall Escape."** Rumanian Jewry is leaving the Balkans, and Poland as well will soon be without Jews.

The refugees consider it indispensable that the US and its allies give complete assurance, through day and night broadcasts and other media, that in the event of an overthrow of communist governments no mass exterminations will be tolerated. Fear of the intermediary period is the major obstacle to action by the democratic opposition. The most important thing is to avoid identification of exile groups in the US with the hated Rightists of the past. The unanimous opinion is that while Communism is disliked because of its dictatorial methods, there is overwhelming support for social and agrarian reforms.

France's J. Edgar Hoover

The other day we visited Pierre Bertaux, Chief of the French Sûreté Nationale, who is quite possibly the most modern and liberal police chief in the world. His basic concept is not to fight Communism as an idea, but to punish communist acts against the law. Bertaux is the French J. Edgar Hoover. He was imprisoned for three years during World War II. He has succeeded in combining liberalism with the most effective action against Communism. He admires the FBI and Hoover for having achieved the support of public opinion. In his anteroom there are ten pictures of high police officials killed in the Resistance against fascism. Although he is modest, and bent only on doing an efficient job, we predict that he is one of the coming men of France.

This, too, Made News

Not Toujours Gai

Suspecting that Frenchmen were losing some of their traditional *joie de vivre*, that they were neither as happy as they had been, or ought to be after five years of peace, a Paris weekly recently sponsored a nationwide survey conducted by the *Institut Français d'Opinion Publique*—the French Gallup Poll—to gauge the reasons and the extent of their unhappiness.

The findings of the Institute's poll are sad indeed. They reveal that the *français moyen*—the Frenchman-in-the-street—usually a sparkling specimen, is now troubled and sobered by unending problems of survival, and he's losing his zest for life.

His greatest problem is keeping his head above water. His meager salary is no match for soaring food prices, skyrocketing rents, prohibitive clothing. Jean Dupont's next big worry is his fear of another war, and the bleak incertitude of the coming years. Lastly, he is beset by personal problems—love, sickness, holding his job, passing an exam, saving up enough to send the kids to the country next summer.

The figures below spell out the story.

Q. "What is your greatest worry today?"	
A. Keeping financially alive	45%
Fear of another war	27%
Personal problems	13%
Miscellaneous (mostly a combination of the above)	15%

Churchill Unmasked!

The most sensational intrigue of World War II has just come to light: Winston Churchill revealed the date of the Soviet offensive on the Vistula to the German High Command, but his treachery was foiled by two Russian agents, Macha and Dementiev.

This, at least, is the fantastic tale told in a Soviet film, "Secret Mission," just released in Moscow. It brands the US and UK as traitors to the war effort for having informed SS leader Heinrich Himmler of the projected Soviet attack, and planning the signature of a separate peace with Germany.

The first scenes of the Moscow hallucination show the Allies pleading with the Red Army to launch a diversionary offensive on the Eastern front, during the Battle of the Bulge. At the same time, however, Prime Minister Churchill is plotting a separate peace. He dispatches Allen W. Dulles to a secret rendezvous with Himmler in Berlin. In the Nazi's underground lair, Dulles discloses the date of the Russian offensive and Himmler agrees to withdraw the bulk of German troops from the Ardennes sector. "Your armies will be able to advance with no resistance," Himmler assures Dulles. "Our troops will surrender immediately, even if you only send three drunken and unarmed soldiers on bicycles!"

Enter the Soviet agents, who have infiltrated German headquarters. They notify Moscow of the plot in the nick of time. The Red Army launches its attack before the agreed date. Panic-stricken, the Western Allies make a deal with the big German industrialists: "We'll do all we can to save West German plants, but we'll bomb the Eastern factories to bits." Whereupon Martin Bormann pledges the full support of the Nazi party to the Americans: "My men hate only the USSR," he asserts. But the onslaught of Soviet troops swiftly brings Nazi Germany to its knees, and the war is won.

The incredible film ends as Winston Churchill fiendishly warns: "Russia must be destroyed. We *must* have another war."

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SOW *continued*

Push Hour

No shiny black limousines for the Republic of Indonesia's civil servants: they'll pedal their way to work through the streets of Jakarta on some 60,000 new bicycles recently ordered from the Netherlands by the Indonesian government. Anticipating the envious looks of their fellow-Indonesians and the wide-eyed stares of Jakarta's kids at the sight of the brand-new velocipedes, the government has authorized the importation of 60,000 additional bikes for sale by private dealers.

Brush Up Your Tibetan

No internationally-minded reader, we are sure, will turn down the opportunity of raising the world's language curtains, especially when the result might be a chat with the Dalai Lama of Tibet. For Tibetan is now the latest language available for home study on phonograph records, according to an advertisement in *Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong*, the Tibetan newspaper published at Kalimpong in West Bengal. "The modern world can learn many things good from Tibet," admonishes our colleague. "It is high time that all the powers of the world should take more interest in studying its religion, culture and various ancient manners and customs apart from its politics. One can learn many things for bringing peace to the world. It is, therefore, very important that one should know the language well."

The set of records, prepared by the Indian government, may be obtained from the Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong P.O., West Bengal, India.

From Ghost to Ghost

On October 31 of every year—the vigil of All Hallows—American children get a particular kick out of dressing up as spooks and skeletons, soaping up windows and unhinging gates, carving grinning faces out of pumpkins, and generally playing ghostly pranks on their forbearing elders. It

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is all in the good-natured, eerie Hallowe'en tradition, but few of our enthusiastic tricksters are aware, we are convinced, of the true significance of the festival.

For All Hallows, dear little friends, commemorates the coming to earth of all saints and martyrs, known and unknown. It is a feast celebrated today by the Anglican Church and many Lutheran persuasions, and together with the Roman Catholic All Saints' Day—which falls on November 2—it is an outgrowth of the pagan practice, steeped in antiquity, of setting aside a day, usually at the close of the year, to pay tribute to the spirit of the dead.

It was Pope Boniface IV who introduced the religious feast in the seventh century, most likely to supplant the pagan festival. He called for its observance on May 13 but, in the next century, Pope Gregory III moved the date to November 1.

Roman Catholics do not observe November 1, but rather November 2, a day instituted in 998 by Odilo, Abbot of Cluny. Celebration of this date had become practically universal by the 13th century, but the practice was abolished in England during the Reformation.

In some countries celebration is in keeping with the solemnity of the religious festival. In other countries it coincides with the gathering of the harvest, and the preparation of food and drink for the returning spirits is made an occasion of merriment.

The Babylonians in times of old had a monthly feast of the dead, during which sacrifices were offered. Ancient Greece set aside three days at the end of the month of Anthesteria (February–March of our calendar), and the Romans honored *their* dead during the Tarentalia, at the close of the Roman year (February 13–21). The Buddhist festival occurs on April 15, the anniversary of the death of Buddha.

In China the celebration is called the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts. It takes place at the seventh—the autumn—moon; during the fortnight of the festival food and delicacies are set up by the thoughtful Chinese for those ghosts who have no descendants and brightly lit lanterns are paraded through the streets.

Happy Hallowe'en, children!

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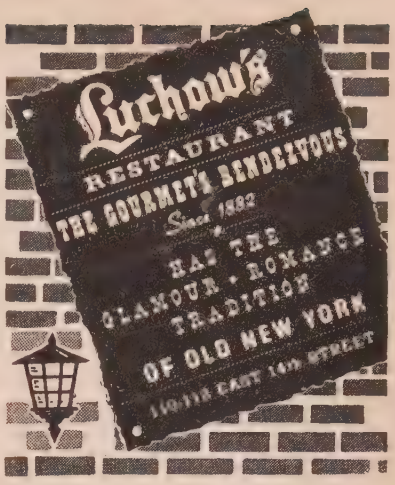

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By WARREN R. AUSTIN
Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations

After the Typhoon

FIVE years ago today the United Nations appeared on the horizon as the promise of man's best guarantee against the scourge of war, and as his best hope for a happier and freer life in years to come.

Throughout this half decade it has been like a ship outriding many storms and penetrating many zones, and gallantly making its destinations.

Indeed, on June 25th of this year it plunged through a few tense hours of a typhoon.

On this, the fifth birthday of the United Nations, however, I think we can say that the world organization not only has weathered the storm, but its timbers have become seasoned and more storm-resistant in the process.

It may be that we are still too close to the events of the past few months to realize fully the import of what has occurred. Perhaps only the passage of time will disclose the profound historical significance of this first effort by an international institution to defend the peace with armed force.

For the moment, we are encouraged by a single, all-important fact: the United Nations has gone into battle with an army and an idea. Both have triumphed. The United Nations has stopped aggression by armed force and started a social and political liberation by creating conditions of stability and well-being.

Immense tasks and problems still lie before us. We must strengthen the United Nations to enable it to meet aggression in the future, wherever it appears and by whatever device.

Now that would-be aggressors have been warned, we engage in the works of peace: it is to the sick, the hungry, the impoverished that an increasing measure of the United Nations effort must be directed.

As millions of people look to the United Nations as the defender of their homes and families against armed invasion, so do they look to it as their assurance of a better life.

On this fifth anniversary of the United Nations, we are inspired to justify their faith by the promotion of worldwide conditions for national and personal growth and well-being.

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The Lesson of Korea is of historic magnitude.

It proves that the UN has become powerful enough to prevent new World Wars.

I Foresee An Era of Peace

As told to **ALAIN GEORGE**

By RALPH BUNCHE

Director, UN Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories

I MAY be an optimist, but in my view—in spite of obviously ominous conditions in the world—there is today a reasonable basis for hope that a secure and lasting peace may be achieved.

The reason for my optimism is the United Nations, which is today an unavoidably dominant factor in the foreign policies of all sixty of its members. It has proved itself capable of acting by persuasion where persuasion could suffice to keep or restore peace—and by resort to arms in the one case where persuasion has failed. The world has never before known such a mature, resolute world body as this. In a world where peace has become indispensable to survival, this is momentous.

Prior to the Korea incident the United Nations had been confronted with a number of violent conflicts—local wars. In Palestine, in Greece, in Indonesia and Kashmir it had managed to contain these disputes, even though with great difficulty and with varying degrees of success, insofar as definitive settlement is concerned. In any event, in each instance it had stopped the fighting and had made at least some progress toward ultimate settlement.

But the peaceful efforts of the United Nations failed in Korea, and therefore the UN was confronted with the grave challenge as to whether it should resort to force where all other means had failed. The UN met this challenge promptly and convincingly.

In the larger sense, however, the greatest challenge of the Korean conflict is yet to be met. The United Nations must find a way to reunite a people who are divided by an artificial line which unfortunately has now been underscored in blood. I do not know how this can be done. But it must be done if peace and stability are to prevail in this area. I am convinced there is enough wisdom and statesmanship in the United Nations to achieve this indispensable goal.

It is of course unfortunate that a peace organization should ever have to resort to force. Yet, in my view, there is no contradiction whatsoever between armed intervention in Korea and the UN's peace objectives. All who hope for lasting peace must be reassured by the fact that the United Nations did take the extreme step when the situation in Korea demanded it. In this situation the UN faced its most crucial test. By its action it has bought time—time to use in Korea the methods of negotiation and conciliation which alone can bring permanent solutions.

What is the lesson of Korea? It is that, if there are governments and peoples in the world who are determined to gain their selfish ends at the expense of other governments and peoples, such aggressors must be and can be repelled by concerted international action, in order to protect the peace and freedom of all of us.

An Era of Peace *continued*

In the attainment of world peace there are great difficulties ahead and there may well be other local outbreaks. But somehow I do not think there is likely to be a major conflict. In the relations of East and West the UN, which was set up to ensure the peace of the world, has a great moral obligation to do all that it can to avert catastrophe. It has already been successful in settling some of the differences that have arisen between East and West. The problem of the disposition of the Italian Colonies, which could not be resolved by the Council of Foreign Ministers, was more successfully handled through the UN, where the force of world opinion and world interest rather than of special opinion and interest could be brought to bear upon it.

A Dangerous Slogan

I think it is unfortunate that the existing differences between West and East, sharp as they may be, have come to be described as the "cold war." In an atomic age, in the interest of humanity, even slogans should be chosen with care. Human disagreements can be settled, but a war, cold or hot, has to be fought, won or lost, and it may be questioned whether a "cold war" can ever be won without resort to shooting war.

It seems to me that from the viewpoint of humanity and civilization the vital question is not who shall emerge as victor in the "cold war," but whether the differences now dangerously dividing the world can be conciliated without appeasement or surrender of vital principle. The attempt to find a peaceful solution of the East-West conflict has only begun. The search, surely, can never be abandoned until every known and reasonable process of negotiation and conciliation has been employed.

I am confident that the differences now threatening the world can and will be peacefully settled, for I believe that despite man's disturbing predilections for emotion, fear, hate and irrationality, there are no problems of human relations which are insoluble. Man has an unlimited capacity for good sense, good will and shrewd calculation of his own self-interest. Were this not so, we would be in the cages today, and the apes would be laughing at us. The UN is striving to exploit these human virtues in the interest of peace and justice in the world.

The political differences which exist between West and East are heightened by, and perhaps even derive from mutual fear, suspicion and recrimination. This is no atmosphere in which to bring about agreement. Mr. Lie, as Secretary General of the United Nations, has been and is doing everything humanly possible to create a more favorable climate of opinion, in order that the existing dangerous impasse ultimately may be broken. His visits to Washington, London, Paris and Moscow were acts of great statesmanship and have served a useful purpose. It was not to be expected that they would produce startling results. But I am confident that Mr. Lie will never relax his efforts until concrete results are attained. It is in the nature of conciliation that results are slow to appear.

As a matter of fact, the basic differences between West and East are not always easy to define with precision. The desired first objective, certainly, is to get them precisely defined and laid out on the table. They must then be attacked with a full understanding of the motivations which lie behind them. Who can deny that in an atmosphere of greater mutual confidence a way out of the impasse might be found?

The Only Way to Peace

The United Nations seeks peace in the only way peace can be secured in the presence of sharp conflicts among nations: by attempting to create those minimum conditions of mutual trust and confidence which are indispensable to the peaceful dissolution of differences by negotiation, mediation and conciliation.

Most of the critical problems of the world have grown out of a basic failure in human relations. Such is the case in Asia and Africa today where critical situations have arisen through the inability of Western societies to approach and deal with non-Western peoples with full understanding. There is no question that, by and large, the historic relationships of the peoples of the East and the peoples of Africa with those of the West have not been entirely happy, and that color and imperialism have been too often intermixed.

Progress is being made unquestionably. Peoples of the East in vast numbers have, by one means or another, gained their independence. They now stand on their own feet and have taken their rightful place in the community of nations. These people have won their own dignity and their own right to equality. This is encouraging progress, but there remain many who are not yet so fortunate.

Moreover, in the Western states, notable advances have been made with regard to relations with non-Western peoples. There is more understanding, but perhaps not yet enough to ensure mutual confidence and goodwill.

In this growing enlightenment the United Nations has played an important role with its cardinal principle of equality of peoples and its great emphasis on human dignity. The wise and realistic statesmen who helped to formulate the Charter of the United Nations were acutely aware that in order to build a peaceful world it would be necessary to accord sympathetic support to the aspirations of the subject and colonial peoples. Colonialism is being liquidated; the trend is striking. Ten years ago the total number of subject peoples in the world was in the neighborhood of 750,000,000. Today that figure has been reduced to less than 200,000,000. Further reduction is in the immediate offing, with firm and concrete promises already made by the United Nations to the peoples of Libya and Somaliland, and with strong nationalistic movements developing in other advanced colonial territories.

Those of us in the United Nations Secretariat who are occupied with the non-self-governing peoples, hold what may be regarded as self-liquidating positions. But I fear our jobs will be

relatively safe for a long time. One in every ten persons in the world today still lives in a territory which does not enjoy the privilege of full self-government. The economies and cultures of some of these peoples may be described as "primitive" in terms of Western or "civilized" standards. Others have highly developed cultures, complex economies and strong political organizations. Many of the more advanced peoples chafe impatiently under the restraints of colonial rule, while the colonial powers who administer them caution them against the pitfalls of premature independence for which they are not yet prepared by training, experience or financial condition.

The Privilege of Protests

The UN Trusteeship Council, which on behalf of the General Assembly exercises the international supervision over the Trust Territories, might be said in some respects to perform a semi-judicial function and a mediatory role as well. The Council receives and examines annual reports from the Administering Authorities and a great many petitions dealing with the well-being of the inhabitants. Many of the communications run the whole gamut of human protest, involving alleged violations of human rights, inadequate educational and health facilities, land distribution. The inhabitants of the Trust Territories are in one sense the most privileged in the world, for they are the only people who have the right of direct petition to the international organization.

The new approach to the colonial problem is based on the frank recognition that the non-self-governing territories have constituted one of the dangerous irritants in the relations among nations which lead to war. It is widely accepted that the perennial conflicts over colonial sources of raw materials, markets, investment opportunities, manpower, strategic outposts, and prestige of empire, and the constant temptation for aggressive nations to prey on weak and defenseless peoples, must be eliminated if the foundations for peace are to be firm.

We need peace desperately. But then, the world has always needed

DR. RALPH JOHNSON BUNCHE was recently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1949 for his efforts in bringing about the cessation of hostilities in Palestine. Recognized today as one of the world's authorities on the problems of dependent peoples, Dr. Bunche studied at the University of California, Harvard, the London School of Economics and the University of Capetown, taught political science at Howard University, served in the US State Department's Office of Dependent Area Affairs and attended numerous international conferences as an adviser to the US Government on colonial problems. Associated with the UN since its planning stages at Dumbarton Oaks, Ralph Bunche was the Secretary General's personal representative on the UN Palestine Commission when he stepped in as Acting Mediator for Palestine upon the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte. He showed inspired leadership in the negotiations which brought settlement between warring Arabs and Jews. At forty-six, father of three children, he is today wholly dedicated to the cause of bringing lasting peace through the United Nations to the peoples of the world.

An Era of Peace *continued*

peace. The trouble is that today, in an age of supersonic airspeeds, of biological warfare, of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the question is no longer simply peace or war. It has become one of sheer survival of civilization, survival of mankind.

Without great changes in human attitudes, without massive strides toward human understanding and brotherhood, the most perfect international machinery for peace will ultimately be unavailing. No mechanical device, no international charters or pacts, no diplomacy however ingenious, can save mankind from itself if man in his relations with man remains mean and brutish.

In the final analysis there is but one road to peace and that is the road of fellow-feeling and inflexible determination to achieve peaceful relations among men. It is a long, hard road, too little traveled.

I am optimistic enough about my fellow beings to believe that it is human *attitudes*, not human nature, that must be changed. On the international scene it is these attitudes which have brought the world to the menacing state of affairs today—the so-called "cold war," the maneuverings for power and dominance, the dangerous rivalries, the propaganda battles. On the domestic scene, it is human attitudes, not human nature, which nurture the racial and religious hatreds and bigotries which today permeate many societies, and even in democracies thrive in the fertile soil of complacency. Certainly, there is nothing in human nature which renders it forever impossible for men to live peacefully and harmoniously with one another.

It may be that man's will for decisive change in his ways can be activated only on the brink of disaster. If so, he finds himself today precariously on that brink. Human solidarity will be achieved only when the peoples of many lands find a common bond through a compelling sense of urgency in achieving common goals. The purposes and principles of the United Nations—with peace as the universal common denominator—afford that bond and the common goals. The implements of modern warfare afford the urgency.

The United Nations ideal of a world in which peoples would "practice tolerance and live together as good neighbors" is far from realization only because of the state of mind of mankind. Every individual today has it in his power—in his daily living, in his attitudes and practices—to contribute greatly to the realization of that ideal. The task is the salvation of mankind. We must never lose hope or faith.

How They Say It

Did you ever wonder what the common every day expressions really mean in foreign languages? Some of them are politer expressions than ours. In Korean, for instance, the expression for "Good Morning" is "Have you had a good rest?"

Here is a chart which will show you how different peoples express the common "one world" sentiments, expressed in English on the left.

ENGLISH	RUSSIAN	TURKISH	SPANISH	ARABIC	JAPANESE	CHINESE
How do you do?	Be healthy!	May the day be happy for you!	How are you?	Peace with you!	Honorably early!	Good not good?
How is everything?	How are your affairs?	How is your mood?	How is it?	How is your disposition?	How is it?	How is your digestion?
Thanks!	Thanks!	Let us thank God!	Thanks!	Many benefits!	How is it?	Most Grateful
You are welcome!	Nothing!	For nothing!	There isn't anything!	Give them to God!	In what way can it be done?	Don't behave like a guest!
I love you!	I love you!	I love you!	I want you!	I love you!	I love you!	I love you!
Excuse me!	I am guilty!	Could you pardon me?	Dispense with me!	Forgive me!	Honorably permit!	I treat you unfairly!
So long!	To the date!	I leave you to God!	Until the sight!	Leave with peace!	It is empty peace!	Meet again!
Good evening!	Kind evening!	May the evening bring you happiness	Good nights!	Happy evening!	This evening	Have you had your meal?

C. F. BERLITZ

The People Are Behind the UN

By NASROLLAH ENTEZAM
President of the Fifth General Assembly
Permanent Representative of Iran to the UN

THE gravity of the times in which we are living places a heavy burden of responsibility on the United Nations General Assembly as it meets in its fifth session. The aggression which has taken place in Korea stands as a warning that we are still far from accomplishing the task assigned to us in the Charter, of building a world community freed from the sorrows of war. How to do so must dominate our debates.

Today we know that even a dream of peace may require the shedding of blood for its achievement. Our thought is one of profound gratitude to those young and valiant fighters who, in Korea, have proved, with their bodies and with their lives, that aggression is a sin against the whole human family which no longer can be tolerated.

It is heartening to know that so many nations rallied in support of the United Nations action in Korea, and that the Security Council, despite the fact that it did not have at its disposal the forces provided for by the Charter, was able to discharge its responsibility to halt a bold movement of lawlessness before it set fire to the world.

Yet if we stopped here we would have failed in a responsibility which never was so great and so urgent as now. We owe it to those who have died to work for peace with new vigilance, to find means of making the United Nations a more effective instrument of *peace without bloodshed*. We must act now, with absolute courage, to save the world from the catastrophe that hangs over it.

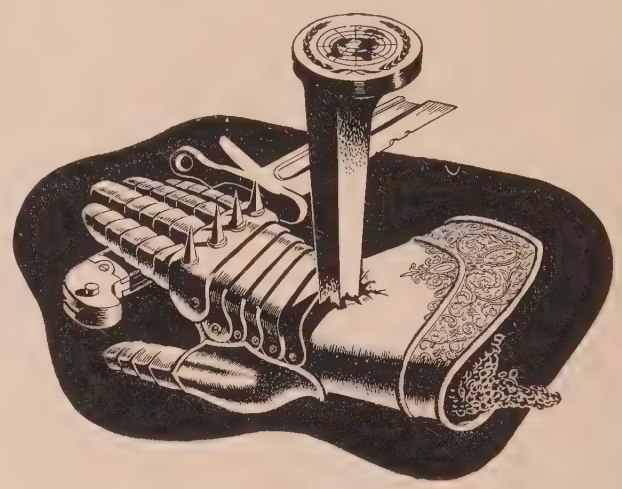
In order to do so I hope we will begin to seek wider application for those clauses of the Charter which look to the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and conciliation. We must push forward resolutely toward the objective of reducing national armaments while creating permanent United Nations forces which can help to ensure worldwide respect for the Charter's ideals.

Behind the sixty governments represented in the Fifth Assembly there are hundreds of millions of men and women of every nationality and race who dread a new holocaust, and long deeply for a peaceful world. I believe by its prompt action in Korea the United Nations has acquired a new prestige with them. They had seen it successful in promoting the peaceful settlement of conflicts in Palestine, Indonesia and Greece. Yet many have feared that world unity would crumble before the disrupting forces that have arisen and grown menacing since the United Nations was born. Today there is new confidence. I am firmly convinced that one reason why the United Nations will continue to gain in influence is that the public opinion of all nations, overtly or secretly, is behind its purposes. It is for us to utilize to the full in the present session this great human will that is so solidly behind us. We must seek to make it clear to all governments that the law of peace has the consent of the governed.

Ensuring peace is the primary responsibility of the United Nations. Beyond this, it has the obligation of building a world community that is fit to live in—one in which human rights and freedoms are made safe, and from which world "slums" are forever eliminated. Important efforts toward these objectives have been made by the Economic and Social Council and other United Nations bodies. But we all know they can never be fully realized in a world constantly threatened with war. It is an urgent duty and a great opportunity facing this Fifth General Assembly to promote an atmosphere of world harmony in which these great aspirations can better be realized.

The UN Declares War on War

Worldwide demand that peace be enforced will bring strong action in this Assembly



By LAURA VITRAY
United Nations Editor, UN World

THE thing that stands out dramatically about the United Nations these days is that it has suddenly become a "going concern." Like a business house when it moves over to the black side of the ledger, the Fifth General Assembly is pervaded by an atmosphere of cheerfulness, of go-getter activity, of do-or-die accomplishment that is altogether refreshing and full of promise.

Nothing succeeds like success, and now that the member nations have proved their ability to strike a mighty blow against the peace-breakers in Korea, they are far from apologetic in their approach to halting further aggressions in the world.

This Fifth Assembly will long be remembered for its plans to enforce the peace, rather than for its treatment, however able, of the political, social and economic difficulties that still thrive in a good many places. But these, too, stand a fair show of being handled with wisdom and dispatch by a crew that now feels itself to be definitely "in the groove."

That the North Korean onslaught effected a startling cure of any latent UN anemia is history today. But there is one aspect of the miracle which has not escaped the nations represented in the Assembly. It was bluntly stated by Mr. Jamali of Iraq when he declared that forcible repression of aggression flows from the very core and center of the Charter—but that the Security Council's ability to act swiftly and effectively in this particular case "came about by accident."

The accident was, of course, the absence of the Soviet Union from the Security Council, where its veto could have made the whole UN security machinery inoperative. As events now shape up, the Russian walkout last January over the question of Chinese Communist representation, appears to have been fortuitous in more than one respect. Had the Russians by their veto been able to block UN aid to the Republic of Korea before it was crushed, the United Nations might today be ready to file its petition in bankruptcy, instead of having won for itself an immense new prestige.

It is the frightening consciousness of that hairline of chance that lay between successful action and disaster, which has motivated the draft resolutions the United States, Yugoslavia and Chile have placed before the General Assembly. All have one aim: to so strengthen UN security measures that they cannot be wrecked by a "Big Power" veto.

In a world haunted by the spectre of unbridled atomic warfare, the sense of urgency has been multiplied a thousandfold by the Korean aggression. It served notice on the world community that brute force and lawlessness are still to be reckoned with, and that peace is not going to be maintained merely by debate.

The Secretary General was aware of this sometime ago, when he pre-

sented his own Twenty-Year Peace Plan* and sought, by personal mediation, to reduce the tensions of the East-West "cold war." Mr. Lie's visits to Washington, Moscow, London and Paris, on the very eve of Korea, revealed his anxiety over the growing menace of global war. The ten points of his long-range program are based on his knowledge of what had to be done to realize the system of collective security outlined by the Charter. This included removing the causes of war that are rooted in human misery, controlling the war-making powers of the individual nations, and giving the UN the military strength to suppress outbreaks.

The Secretary General's plan, in contrast to all the others, was based on the hope of winning Russian cooperation. If the aggression in Korea had never occurred, his program might still be regarded as sufficing. It is likely that Mr. Lie himself is convinced of the need for some of the emergency measures now proposed.

The Soviet Peace Pattern

The USSR has its own peace proposals, largely a rehash of those it has submitted to previous Assemblies, and with striking resemblances to the Stockholm Peace Appeal. It calls for an Assembly Declaration condemning propaganda in favor of a new war, prohibition of atomic weapons with a strict international control system, and a "Big Five" Peace Pact including one-third reduction of armaments in 1950. Concerning it, Robert Schuman, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, has this to say:

"Before one speaks of peace, one must create an atmosphere of Peace. Now, we are living in a state of disquiet which is general and—what is more serious—deliberately maintained. Sometimes it is a case of territorial claims, sometimes of social agitation aided and encouraged from the outside, sometimes of direct and violent interference in the political life and organization of countries, and sometimes of control systematically established and maintained over ex-enemy territories or liberated areas.

"Ideological aggrandizement is just as harmful to peace as imperialist aggrandizement. The existence of satellite states is contrary to the idea of peace and to the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Is it possible to speak of Peace while at the same time maintaining organs of which the officially admitted purpose is to promote violent agitation and civil war in other countries?"

Mr. Schuman suggests that if the USSR is sincere, it prove it by 1) ceasing to foment civil disorders abroad; 2) abolishing the Cominform; 3) renouncing forms of propaganda [as the Stockholm peace petition], and of complaint [as of US aggression in Korea], which are incompatible with free democracy.

Regarding Point Two of the USSR's peace proposal, Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, echoed the doubts of many nations when he said: "The Canadian delegation are quite unable to determine whether the Soviet view of international control of atomic energy differs in the slightest degree from what has been previously put forward by the Soviet representative, and *which is quite inadequate and unsatisfactory.*"

The new world security measures presented by the United States, Yugoslavia and Chile, appear at first glance to be strikingly different. They have one thing in common. The effect of all three would be to enable the General Assembly to operate continuously in the prevention of war. Hitherto, only the Security Council, to which the Charter gave primary responsibility for policing the world, has functioned uninterruptedly.

US Program of United Action

The American Plan, submitted under the title *"United Action For Peace,"* provides for calling an emergency session of the Assembly on twenty-four hour notice, if the Security Council is unable to move to check an act of aggression. Such overnight gathering of the 60-nation clan is by no means impossible. Top delegates attend the annual meetings. But most governments have designated a permanent UN representative—in some cases, for economy's sake, their ambassador at Washington. The presence of these "emergency delegates" would permit the Assembly to convene.

Second item in the US proposal is a *"Peace Patrol,"* or commission of observers, ready at an instant's notice to fly to the scene and report on any dangerous situation. The Patrol would not need to wait for an emergency session. It could be ordered out by the Assembly's Interim Committee, at the request of any nation which believed itself under threat of attack. Just as the Korean Commission, which was on the spot, enabled the Security Council to move swiftly against the aggressors, so this Patrol would serve as the permanent eyes and ears of the UN.

Third US item provides for units of the armed forces of member states to be held available to the United Nations. These would be used, either on the authority of the Security Council, or *failing this,* on the recommendation of the General Assembly.

It is this feature of the US proposal —duplicated in the Chilean Plan, but not in the Yugoslav—which puts teeth into future UN efforts to safeguard peace. The idea has the approval of a majority of delegations. Of course the Charter provides that UN Members should make armed forces available to the Security Council. Until the Korean war broke, the execution of this design seemed forever to have bogged down in the debates of the Military Staff Committee. Now, suddenly, there is strong hope that UN Forces will become a permanent reality—with the innovation that they may spring into action at the nod either of the Council or of the Assembly.

The US Plan has as co-sponsors Britain, France, Canada, the Philippines, Turkey and Uruguay. In addition, it has the firm backing of many other nations.

Tito's Prescription

The weakest feature of the Yugoslav Peace Plan is its failure to say anything about UN armed forces.

Belgrade's proposal throws the weight of war prevention on a strong, continuously operating conciliation and mediation group—*A Permanent UN Commission of Good Offices.* This would be a subsidiary organ of the

* *See chart p. 23.*

General Assembly, but in practice it would enjoy wide autonomy. Its duty would be to look into every international dispute, and all tensions which might give rise to armed conflict. If it found that a dispute was susceptible of mediation, it would advise the parties either to accept its mediation, or to settle their differences by direct negotiation or other peaceful means.

This Permanent Commission of Good Offices would be a 12-nation group—composed of the six non-permanent members of the Security Council, plus six others specially elected for two-year terms by the Assembly. However, the "Big Five"—the US, USSR, Britain, France and China—would be ineligible. In other words, this would be a small-power commission, supposedly free of the political stresses and antagonisms which in practice have robbed the Security Council of much freedom of action and objectivity. In a real sense, this would be a "substitute Security Council," unhampered by the veto. It could speak with authority, for it would have behind it the moral force of the General Assembly.

More UN Mediation

This Yugoslav proposal is said to bear some resemblance to an earlier US plan, discussed informally among the delegations. It corresponds rather closely to the Secretary General's plea for greater use of UN mediation. The Commission of Good Offices would be a top-level group, but the UN Panel of Field Observers established under a resolution of the Fourth Assembly, would be able to furnish it with military and other experts.

As between such a Commission and the Peace Patrol of the US Plan, the Assembly must decide whether it wants to set up a nearly autonomous "little Security Council" to watch over peace —or keep the steering wheel of world security firmly in its own hands.

One feature of the Yugoslav Plan merits careful attention. It is the proposal to establish procedure by which the true aggressor in any conflict can be unmasked before the world.

To be sure, the problem of defining aggression is not new. There have been various attempts, and they have proved unsatisfactory. Aggressive war was outlawed by the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, to which virtually all states have since adhered. Yet at that time, and at San Francisco in 1945, it was decided that to define aggression would be difficult, and perhaps unwise.

The Yugoslav proposal suggests no definition. Moreover, it seems to take into account that wars today are fought but seldom declared. It would merely have the Assembly establish certain steps or principles by which innocence or guilt might be revealed.

If this proposal were adopted, the Assembly would ask that every state that became engaged in hostilities declare within twenty-four hours its readiness to issue a cease-fire and withdraw its armed forces, wherever they had crossed the frontier of the opposing party. Nations involved in a conflict would be required to put the cease-fire into effect and begin the withdrawal by midnight of the day on which the declarations of both parties had been made. The state that failed to make a declaration and act in accordance with it would be considered the aggressor.

That principle, applied to Korea, would have rendered meaningless a month of Mr. Malik's arguments that the North Koreans had been attacked. Mr. Kardelj, Yugoslav Vice-President and Minister of Foreign Affairs, states his opinion that it would go far to "prevent the misuse of armed forces under the pretense of exercising the right of self-defense."

Chilean Blueprint for Peace

The Chilean Peace Plan was first propounded by President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla when he visited the United States last Spring. (See UNW May, 1950). It envisages a "*Democratic International*," or pact of all the democratic governments and free peoples of the world. These would be joined in a permanent organization within the framework of Article 51 of the Charter. They would be pledged to apply all means at their command to prevent aggression, and render impossible the submission of any country to a foreign nation by direct or indirect tactics.

Chile's blueprint for peace, now before the Assembly, recalls the various regional arrangements already operative under the Charter: the North Atlantic Pact, the Inter-American Agreement, and such broad plans as that now being devised by the British Commonwealth for economic aid to Southeast Asia. The Chilean Pact, however, would not be regional. It would be open to all UN Members ready to become signatories of this solemn treaty to give mutual aid in repelling aggression, to respect and cause to be respected the fundamental rights and freedoms. Their collaboration would be at various levels: *economic*—to remove the causes of war; *military*—making use of their combined armed forces to carry out UN decisions.

The Chilean Plan is not so far removed as one might think from some of the other proposals. In place of the Peace Patrol suggested by the US, it would empower the Interim Committee of the General Assembly to investigate threats to peace, and convoke the Assembly if necessary. It would bring pressure to bear in carrying out the Assembly's recommendations on peace and security, control of atomic energy and international regulation of armaments. Economically and socially, it could hasten progress along the lines of the Secretary General's Twenty-Year Plan. It comes close to what Australia's Minister of External Affairs, Percy C. Spender, meant when he said: "The peace-loving nations must be so organized and prepared as to discourage any repetition of the Korean incident."

As the Assembly weighs these peace plans, it should be remembered that they are not entirely exclusive of one another. It would be well if the best features of each could be adopted. The important thing is that the free nations are now determined not to brook procrastination, filibustering or bad faith, but to find a way, by united effort, to end international gangsterism and enforce law and order throughout the world.

If the men at Flushing act wisely, there will be no World War III.

The Five Peace Plans

Before the Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations

The Secretary-General's Plan	The U. S. Plan	The USSR's Plan	The Yugoslav Plan	The Chilean Plan
				1. *A Democratic International:* a pact of all free states within the UN.
			1. Adoption of principles which brand aggressors.	
		1. General Assembly to condemn war propaganda.		
	1. Emergency sessions of General Assembly in 24 hours.			2. Interim Committee of General Assembly to investigate war threats, call Assembly if necessary.
	2. A Peace Patrol, to report on war danger areas.			
1. Security Council Meetings of foreign ministers; UN mediation.			2. Permanent Commission to mediate disputes.	
2. New attempt at atomic control system.		2. Atomic weapons prohibited, with international controls.		***The purposes of the Pact are:***
3. New attempt to halt armaments race.		3. Big Five Peace Pact, 1/3 arms cut in 1950.		a. To help fulfill Assembly resolutions on peace and security, atomic energy and armaments.
4. Armed forces for Security Council.	3. Armed forces available to Security Council or Assembly.			b. To use Members forces to carry out UN decisions.
5. Universality of membership in the UN.				
6. Aid to underdeveloped countries.				c. To give aid to underdeveloped countries.
7. Strengthening of world economy and trade.				d. To promote world economic stability.
8. Efforts to promote human rights.				e. To compel respect for fundamental human rights.
9. Bring colonial peoples to place of equality.				
10. Strengthen International Law.				

Ripples At Lake Success

ABOUT a thousand of the UN Secretariat's 3500 are now installed in the permanent UN headquarters in Manhattan in the Turtle Bay section along the East River. The rest will have moved from Lake Success by early in 1951.

The change in the UN is far more profound than anyone has yet suspected. When everybody worked on the same level, in the sprawling horizontal buildings at Lake Success, life was social and friendly. People kept meeting one another coming and going every day. But in the 39-story skyscraper in Turtle Bay, it is rare to meet a friend accidentally. The UN has become subject to the limitations of skyscraper life where one is whisked to one's floor by an elevator, immured there all day and whisked away again in an elevator at nightfall. A hundred steps away from the UN, they are all separately swallowed up in the big city, to meet only by design or the rarest of accidents.

It is safe to predict that the UN personnel will now rapidly take on the peculiar protective coloration of typical New Yorkers, no matter what their country of origin. UNW can express no opinion as to whether this will be good or undesirable. An antidote would be to encourage UN personnel to spend their leisure on the UN grounds. At present, however, there is only a snack bar on the fifth floor to which the lonely and gregarious can repair.

At this period it is natural that the loudest voices are heard in complaint. Some Secretariat members just can't get used to calling their floor numbers in the elevators. The men complain that the best views of the East River from every floor have been assigned to the ladies' powder rooms. The higher executives' war for more windows is now in full swing, while a good many subordinates are condemned to eternal, windowless claustrophobia in the interior of the building. The windows, tinted blue to keep out the heat of the sun, have various psychological effects on different people. Steel-helmeted construction workers, still at work on the unfinished floors, take a never-ending interest in the Secretariat of many nations. China's George Woo, administrative assistant of the Building Management Services, has explained that problems were being solved as they came up: "We have accepted the fact that workmen crossing the half-finished lobby had muddy feet, and we dust and clean as best we can."

But the definitive word was given by a British secretary: "We haven't borrowed this place, we haven't rented it from anybody, and there'll be no more moving. This is ours and it's wonderful."

* * *

SMART advertisers would get testimonials from the UN's Frederick Mapes whose international staff handles purchasing and supplies for the UN. For, since the UN pays no customs duties, Mr. Mapes can judge the world's products on absolute terms of price, quality and speed of delivery. He may get his duplicating stencils from France, his steel shelving from Great Britain, his paper from Belgium, and so on.

But often Mr. Mapes must call in inventors to create something that does not exist. For example, UN engineers were obliged to build typewriters with keyboards combining the letters of several different languages. These have now taken the place of the two or three machines formerly needed to type a single piece of copy. Right now Mr. Mapes is working with inventors to perfect a usable Chinese typewriter, while the UN's Chinese typing pool does its work by hand.

Another UN invention is a combination desk, filing cabinet and bookcase for reference books. This is especially useful for the translators who are constantly using all three and formerly spent most of their time on their feet.

* * *

A UN official dropped in at a New York Third Avenue bar where the television set was showing a session of the Security Council. Another patron spoke his opinion as to how the expected voting would turn out. The UN official undertook to correct him. This was developing into a fairly lively discussion when the bartender finally broke in. "Nuts!" he judged. "You're both wrong. This resolution, as it stands, isn't backed by the representative of India. I'm sure, though, that he'll vote for it if it's revised some, which I think it will be."

"Are you *sure* you mailed that letter with my Peace Plan?"

All hands then turned to watch the television screen, where precisely this course of events was thereupon transacted.

* * *

THE world's largest concentration of conferences and conference tables is naturally the world's largest concentration of pitchers of ice water. The water was free but some time ago the UN's Conference Division discovered that the purchases of ice were running into a good deal of money. The UN now has $9000 worth of ice-making equipment which has already paid for itself. When UN delegates now slake their thirst, they are doing it with UN ice.

* * *

IN at least one respect the international sophistication of the UN personnel has been rudely challenged. Planning the televising of the weekly program, "The UN Stamp Club," over the NBT network, the UN writers planned to have the audience try to identify rare stamps shown on the screen. At first only fairly obscure stamps were shown, in the thought that even these would be too difficult for laymen. Identification replies flooded in. The UN picked out more difficult stamps to stump the audiences. The answers still came in at the rate of 1500 a week. Now the UN is trying to find something really obscure and esoteric in the way of a stamp question.

* * *

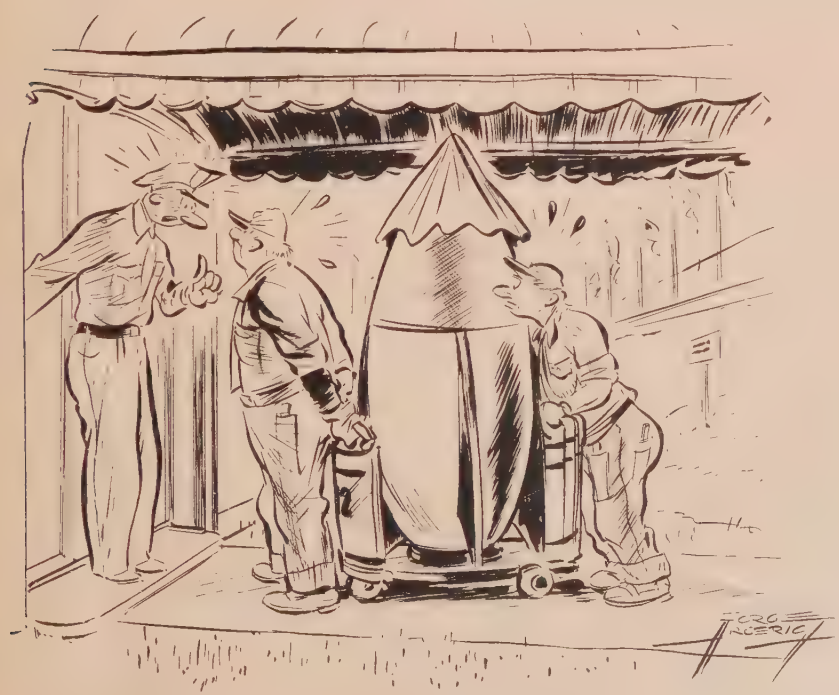
BELATED baseball note: The Philippines' Romulo was for the Yankees; Canada's Pearson for the Phillies. Mr. Pearson's explanation was that in Toronto Philadelphia is regarded as a farm team for Toronto.

* * *

A NOTE of hysteria has lately crept into the attitudes of UN people confronted with the USSR's Vyshinski. Several Latin American delegates have grown so emotional as to interrupt Vyshinski with shouts, desk-poundings and threatening motions with name-plates. (The name-plates have not yet actually been used as weapons of offense.)

This same suppressed excitement swept the UN after a free-lance photographer had received permission to take a color portrait of Mr. Vyshinski, done his work and left. Eastern European delegates whispered intently to one another. Other delegates drifted about trying to discover what had happened. The US detectives who always accompany Vyshinski were frowning. The word spread that an international incident with grave implications and potential repercussions had taken place. At last somebody explained, "The photographer adjusted Vyshinski's tie."

—HANS TOCH



"No, this is still the United Nations. Sperry Gyroscope is next door."

By **ROBERT MOSES**
N.Y. City Construction Coordinator and Park Commissioner

World Within a World

How New York City, predestined by its history to be the host to the UN, helped build an International Capitol.

THE United Nations made its temporary headquarters within the borders of New York City and in neighboring Nassau County long before the selection of Manhattan as its permanent home. The original Headquarters Committee of the United Nations considered several possible sites, abroad and in a number of states here. Mayor O'Dwyer appointed a committee, of which I was chairman, to make a plan for a world capitol to be located at Flushing Meadow Park. The other members of this committee, appointed in September 1946, were Winthrop W. Aldrich, James A. Burke, John W. Davis, Federick H. Ecker, James A. Farley, James J. Lyons, Charles G. Meyer, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Thomas J. Watson and Grover A. Whalen.

We appointed a board of design, composed of distinguished engineers and architects, to prepare a plan which called for the use of most of the park area formerly occupied by the World's Fair and a generously landscaped setting for the United Nations buildings. In submitting this plan to the United Nations, Mayor O'Dwyer offered to donate the site with all of its existing improvements, add others and provide contiguous ones without cost to the United Nations. He also assured the United Nations of full tax exemption and an international, extra-territorial status.

The Mayor did not instruct his committee to enter into a competition for the new World Capitol, although we believed that New York, with its extraordinary history as a melting pot and its many international interests, was the logical location. We were instructed to offer the best the City had, to present the advantages of our site without embarrassing pressure and undignified ballyhoo, to furnish temporary headquarters, if they were wanted, irrespective of the place of the permanent ones, and to supply housing for the United Nations' delegates and staff.

A remote, self-contained, residential World Capital like Canberra, New Delhi or the Vatican, covering thirty or forty square miles of virgin territory, seems to have been the goal of the original United Nations' Site Committee headed by Mr. Gavrilovic. We presented the obvious practical objections to this idea, and apparently they were persuasive. The debate which ensued over locating the Capitol in Europe as against the United States, in the suburbs as opposed to the City, and over a working as against a residential headquarters, was educational and cleared the air.

With the dramatic acceptance of the twenty-two acre midtown Manhattan site on the East River, the necessarily urban character of the United Nations year-round operation

PROJECTED portal to First Ave. tunnel at 47th St. UN Development is to the left

was agreed upon, and I doubt whether today any serious person would challenge it. While I still believe that the original plan of establishing the United Nations at the site of the old World's Fair in Flushing Meadow Park would have been ideal, where many of the problems of congestion, traffic, parking and utility rearrangements could have been avoided, this question has been settled in favor of the East River Manhattan site and no good purpose is served by laboring it further.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s offer to buy most of the land between First Avenue and the East River from Forty-Second to Forty-Eighth Streets at a cost of more than $8,500,000 and to give it to the United Nations was contingent upon the City's cooperation. Missing parcels of land which could not be purchased had to be condemned, and a number of other conditions met. Specifically these included the closing of the blocks between Forty-Second and Forty-Seventh Streets east of First Avenue, a grant of the exclusive rights for the water front and land under water opposite the United Nations site, transfer of the City playground north of Forty-Second, widening and reconstruction of First Avenue, including a through-traffic tunnel, zoning changes, tax exemption, transfer of the City Housing Authority building to the United Nations at actual cost of construction, and granting of an easement over Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive. The total cost of the New York City contributions is now estimated at $26,500,000.

In exchange, the United Nations agreed to pay for the reconstruction of Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive, to transfer to the City a strip of property thirty feet wide on the east side of First Avenue between Forty-Second and Forty-Seventh Streets and forty-five feet wide between Forty-Seventh and Forty-Eighth Streets and to construct its buildings in accordance with the general structural, safety and fire-prevention standards of the City. Adequate parking and garaging facilities on the site were asked by the City.

It should be borne in mind that the $65,000,000 being spent by the United Nations within the site represents a loan from the United States. With Mr. Rockefeller's gift of $8,500,000 and the City's contribution of $26,500,000, the United States' investment in the new World Capitol therefore amounts in all to $100,000,000. Even with these funds, the United Nations' strained finances have forced postponement of the large Agencies Building planned for the northerly section of the site.

In addition to its own work on the outskirts and on access and approaches, the City has done everything possible to cooperate and assist the United Nations staff in carrying on work within the headquarters site. The various consultants to the original O'Dwyer Committee, including W. Earle Andrews, Gilmore D. Clarke, Aymar Embury II, Wallace K. Harrison, John P. Hogan and Louis Skidmore, subsequently became identified officially either with the United Nations headquarters' planning and architectural staff or with the City's group engaged in the design and building of approaches and surrounding improvements. For the past three years frequent meetings of these two groups have been held in order to schedule and expedite work, reconcile differences and discuss common problems. We have given our advice about the operation of places within the site where the public would be admitted, particularly in those landscaped areas where proper design will insure quiet and orderly enjoyment by delegates, staff and visitors, and prevent crowding, disorder and vandalism. It should be noted that there are peculiar but by no means insoluble problems involved in the limited use of an extra-territorial park in the heart of the City but not policed by municipal forces.

Help from the City came from many sources. The City Council enacted the local laws which were drafted by the Corporation Counsel in cooperation with the United Nations and our State Department at Washington. The Board of Estimate, made up of the Presidents of the five boroughs of the City, the Mayor, Comptroller and President of the Council, made the necessary, large appropriations despite shortages in many City services and demands to use the money for urgent local purposes. The Chief Engineer of the Board of Estimate, John C. Riedel, to whom most matters of this sort are referred for recommendation, met frequently with the United Nations officials and he should be credited with much of the progress.

PARK development: 42nd St. between 1st & 2nd Aves. looking toward East River

MARBLE bridge over 42nd St. at Tudor City will be another new landmark

World Within a World *continued*

The City Bureau of Real Estate took over the troublesome problem of tenant relocation, since construction could not begin until the site was cleared. Rehabilitation of old, abandoned buildings off the site was necessary because of the housing shortage. The slaughterhouses had to be got rid of and established elsewhere. Business relocation included the transfer of important railroad and other water-front terminals to City land elsewhere, with consequential major readjustments at the new locations. The City assumed the expense for required utilities and this involved innumerable adjustments in City services and coordination of the services of private utility companies. It is difficult to realize how much intricate work is involved in moving even one underground trunk line service; multiplied many times, this contribution reaches substantial proportions.

The Borough President of Manhattan undertook to redesign and reconstruct, at the expense of the United Nations, a long stretch of the East River Drive in accordance with the United Nations' plan to build out over the roadways to the water's edge. This involved ripping out the former viaduct which was only a few years old, substituting a roadway closer to the water's surface and rearranging complicated access.

During the organization and construction period, the City offered the United Nations its permanent City Building on the old World's Fair site for meetings of the Assembly and Councils. The City also provided space at Hunter College in the Bronx which was used for the first meetings of the Councils before transfer to the larger temporary quarters at Flushing Meadow Park. The City also persuaded a group of savings banks to build an entire low-rental housing project, known as Parkway Village, fronting on the Grand Central Parkway in Queens County. The City and the County of Nassau cooperated in parkway and highway improvements at the City line to afford better access to Lake Success.

In addition to the work done directly for the United Nations, the City undertook on its own to build extensive improvements in the vicinity of the permanent site, the cost of which has been included in the $26,500,000 mentioned above. The United Nations is located between the East River Drive, which is restricted to pleasure vehicles, and First Avenue which carries marginal Manhattan truck traffic. The roofing of East River Drive shields the United Nations from river-front automobile traffic and in order to create a dignified and quiet plaza on the First Avenue side in front of the site, the City bore the whole expense of the new tunnel for through traffic. This tunnel will occupy a place filled with every conceivable kind of piping and conduits, and the cost of moving these around before construction could start in earnest was almost $2,000,000. Subsequent tunnelling will cost about $5,000,000.

Parks Instead of Garages

As a section of the park between Forty-First and Forty-Second Streets was needed for tunnel construction, this recreation area had to be revamped. The old garages on each side of Forty-Second Street at the lower level of First Avenue are being torn out and replaced by parks and the high walls supporting Tudor City covered with granite facing to make an attractive setting. The narrow tunnel between First and Second Avenues on Forty-Second Street is being demolished and a 100-foot-wide avenue will take its place. Half of the long block from Second Avenue to the United Nations is being torn down to widen Forty-Seventh Street, thus creating an imposing approach.

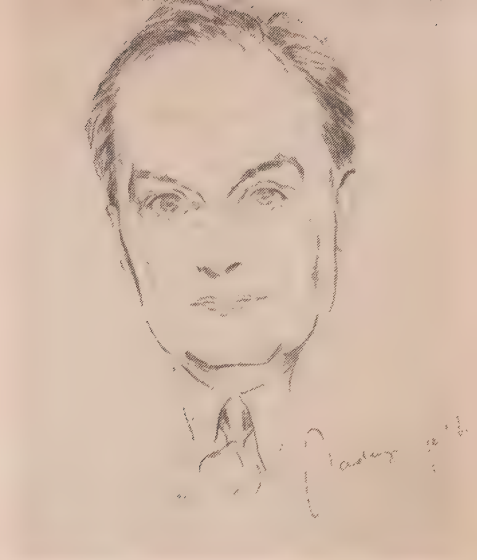
A few critics, native and foreign, have charged that the City's approaches and adjacent improvements lacked scope, vision, beauty and generosity. Some of these criticisms, of course, came from speculators, some from perfectionists who are not concerned with budgets and costs, and some from disappointed architects and planners not officially identified with the project. We make no apologies for our plans, either as to scope or content. We have strained our resources to the utmost. We have not used the United Nations as an excuse to rebuild Manhattan.

It is easy for idealistic planners, home-grown or from abroad, to draw pretty pictures of a magnificent Champs Elysées approach to the United Nations site beginning at Park Avenue, replete with piazzas, arcades, tree-lined vistas and statuary, and of a great park across the East River in the Borough of Queens flanked by low-cost housing. Our own City officials and consultants made just such sketches, and they were abandoned because of the huge costs and the necessary dislocations and removals of people and business establishments. There is a serious constitutional question whether the taking of large, modern office buildings for a glorified approach is a public purpose.

The United Nations have brought much color, life and intellectual stimulus to our City. It has helped to revive and rehabilitate a blighted area of enormous possibilities. It is educating us in world problems, and lifting attention above our own. The problems of accommodation of foreign tastes, habits, needs and points of view are not serious here in New York. We are used to such things. A smaller, less cosmopolitan and less metropolitan city would find them difficult. Early fears that racial, geographical, ideological and religious debates in the United Nations would cause unpleasant repercussions among our numerous ethnic, political, evangelical and intellectual groups have been proven quite unfounded. The City is too humorous, too tolerant, too well balanced and too well policed to allow any disturbances which would be an affront to our United Nations guests who are already an accepted part of our great population.

If ours is indeed to be permanently the World Capitol, let it be remembered that we are not without education for this role. Our hope is that in this favorable soil the United Nations may survive and flourish.

Drawing by Berké



What's Right With The Security Council

By SIR GLADWYN JEBB
Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the UN

It is perhaps only in the past four months that the Security Council has become more than a name to many people all over the world. This is due I think to two things—first, the invasion of the Korean Republic by the Northern Koreans and the prompt and happily effective action taken by the United Nations, and secondly the dramatic, if unhelpful, return of Mr. Malik to his seat at the Council table. I feel sure that the fact that the world—excepting those unfortunate peoples whose sole source of information is their governmental propaganda machines—has had the opportunity to examine our work in these last crucial months is of the greatest importance.

It must in all fairness be said that the Security Council was able to take the vital decisions necessary to repel the unprovoked aggression by the North Korean authorities only because the Soviet Representatives were, like Achilles, sitting in their tents and boycotting all organs of the United Nations where representatives of the Chinese Nationalist Government were seated. I mention this only in the interests of objectivity and not, I repeat *not,* in order to suggest that it would be better if the Soviet Union and its friends left the United Nations altogether. Quite the contrary. The United Nations is, and was intended to be, the instrument for bringing together all the peoples of the world and attempting to achieve the age-long goal of true democratic international cooperation. This process will be long and painful; but it will not be assisted by a surgical operation.

In this context the Security Council has a vital and most difficult part to play. It was realized when framing the Charter of the United Nations that however much good will and good intentions existed among the peoples of the world, the possibilities of friction between individual nations or groups of nations were still a potential menace to world peace. It was for this reason that the Security Council of the United Nations was founded; in order that any outbreak of aggression in any part of the world could be dealt with swiftly and effectively. Although there have been many occasions when the Security Council has been unable to fulfill its proper functions owing to disagreement among the permanent members, it has at least had a considerable influence on events in Palestine, Kashmir and Indonesia in the past, and has of course dealt with the present case of aggression in Korea.

It is, I think, certainly true that the Soviet use of "upside-down language," to which I have referred before, has complicated the work of the Security Council. After all, the proceedings of any organization must necessarily be affected when one member insists upon regarding jet black as snow white. But even so, the fact that the Security Council continues to function and is able to take up at the shortest notice a complaint of aggression by any nation, whether a member of the United Nations or not, is important. It is important I think mainly because, although immediate or even final agreement may not be forthcoming amongst the members of the Security Council, the matter is thoroughly aired in public and becomes at once a matter of concern to the whole world. This does, I am sure, prove a very real deterrent to potential aggressors. The lesson learned by the North Korean authorities, who had apparently regarded the United Nations as a fussy old woman incapable of positive action, will, I feel certain, not be ignored in the future by any nation obsessed by warlike ambitions.

In conclusion I would like to repeat that the work and functions of the Security Council should not be underestimated. However cumbersome its present activities may be and however irritating the propaganda speeches which are made from time to time, the Security Council has a real job to do for preserving world peace, and for localizing incidents, the like of which have been known in the past to cause major wars. It may be said with truth that, even if the Security Council is not as effective a body as it was hoped it would be, it is still fulfilling a vital role in the preservation of peace.

The First Five Years

By FRANCIS W. CARPENTER
AP Correspondent at the UN

THE rice paddies of Korea are a long way from the swimming pool and gymnasium at Hunter College in New York City, where the United Nations Security Council first met in the United States, but those extremes may well be used to measure the progress of the United Nations in its first five years. The United Nations was a timid infant at Hunter College, not sure of itself. Five years after, it has learned to pack a punch. Its life has been one long fight, with Korea the toughest battle it has yet faced.

The United Nations took its place in the world on October 24, 1945, when the Soviet Union completed the necessary ratification of the Charter signed at San Francisco. The General Assembly later established October 24 as the official United Nations Day and this is a convenient spot to look at the record.

First, it must be admitted that the United Nations has not lived up to the hopes of mankind. This is less the fault of the UN than of the men who make up the governments which form the UN membership. Man has not learned to be perfect so it is too much at this stage to expect a man-made organization to be perfect.

VOICE FOR SMALL NATIONS:
Herbert V. Evatt of Australia

Next, it is only fair to say that the United Nations, in spite of almost continual bickering between East and West, has written a record of which its backers can be proud. Indeed, it is amazing that the United Nations has accomplished so much. In its first five years, it has had a hand in the creation of two new countries, Israel and the United States of Indonesia; it offered a common meeting ground for Russian and Western talks which ended the blockade of Berlin; it used legislative powers for the first time and decreed early independence for Libya; it has set in motion a gigantic program of aid to underdeveloped countries designed to raise the standard of living for millions of people; it is watching over some 200,000,000 people through the trusteeship system.

The United Nations has failed to achieve international control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The UN has failed to bring the Soviet Union and the Western powers together on a common basis. It has failed to settle the question of Kashmir, to internationalize Jerusalem, and to bring good feeling between the Arab and the Jew.

Secretary General Trygve Lie in a speech in Chicago on Sept. 8, 1950, listed the three "major failures" of the United Nations. He said they were (1) failure to establish an effective world police force, (2) to control atomic energy, and (3) to reduce armaments as promised. But for all its failures, the United Nations has never given up.

There are stand-out memories of men and drama in the minds of those who have watched the United Nations grow from the Hunter College campus to the marble halls now being built on Manhattan Island. One was the dramatic moment in the Hunter College gymnasium on March 27, 1946, when Soviet Delegate Andrei A. Gromyko angrily rose from the Security Council table and stalked out because the Council had decided to take up Iran's charges against the Soviet Union. The event foretold weary days and months of frustrating argument between the Russians and the West and it revealed that the Russians were not ready to play ball with their wartime allies.

Spaak's Philippic

There was the tense day in Paris when Paul-Henri Spaak, of Belgium, turned to Andrei Y. Vyshinksi and told him just why the world feared the Soviet Union. Spaak said that the Communist Fifth Column growing in the world made Adolf Hitler's Fifth Column look like Boy Scouts.

V. M. Molotov stood out as a smooth talker in the First Assembly in New York. He talked of disarmament and a disarmament resolution was put through that Assembly on Dec. 14, 1946, but the angry charges and counter-charges heard in later Assemblies drowned out the words of the Soviet spokesman.

Vyshinski, the Soviet Foreign Minister, has the coldest eyes of any UN diplomat. One reporter went up to him on the floor of the Assembly in Paris for a word. Vyshinski was busy with some papers. He looked up, annoyed, gave the reporter the icy stare and shook his head. There was no use talking to those cold eyes. At the Fourth General Assembly in New York in 1949 he put on a show of anger over Yugoslavia's election to the Security Council. Many delegates called it the worst exhibition of conduct in any UN gathering.

Vyshinski always rails at what he calls the "mechanical majority" of the West. When the Soviet master speaks, however, UN observers have noted you can expect four more speeches of the same brand—from Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Ukraine and Byelorussia. Yugoslavia used to make the same speeches too but now the Yugoslavs are not on good speaking terms with the USSR.

Bernard M. Baruch is remembered for the long weary hours he and his delegation spent trying to reach agreement on a workable system of UN control of atomic energy. Baruch's happy moment came when he saw the Commission, by a majority vote, approve the first report on control of atomic energy, which embodied most of his recommendations. That job done, he grinned and went to a side seat in the Commission room, ate crackers and drank milk. He resigned a few days later but has always kept up a keen interest. His plan, though it won majority approval, is still an East-West battleground, bitterly resisted by the USSR, which has blocked its adoption by the Security Council.

Gromyko is the man with the iron mask. At the UN meetings, he always had self-control, was always stern and unbending during business hours. He could be human, if he chose, in the delegates' lounge. He never drank in the lounge but once, when he had a beer with another diplomat. He was seen to take an occasional glass at receptions.

Gromyko must have become tired of the wrangling at times. One day he left a Committee room during a trying session and was heard to mutter in Russian as he walked down the hall: "The hell with 'em."

Warren R. Austin came to the UN from the United States Senate. He can talk with equal ease about the Korean crisis, or about his international apple tree in Vermont, with a slip grafted on it that was shipped here from Australia. One of Austin's big achievements was in the 1949 Assembly when he persuaded 52 other members, all except the Communist countries, to back a resolution stating once more the Essential Elements for Peace. Austin boosted his stock with millions of Americans last summer by giving straight answers to the double-talk from Jacob A. Malik.

Malik is a big, expansive Russian who likes to crack a joke off duty but who is a strict Stalin man on the job. He has a bad heart from his duties as Ambassador in Tokyo near the end of World War II.

The Man in the Middle

At the nerve center of the UN stands the bluff Norwegian, Trygve Lie, as Secretary General. He has learned much in that job and undoubtedly will learn much more. Lie had been accused in some quarters in the United States with being pro-Russian; in the Moscow press he has been denounced as a stooge of the West. Lie figures that with such criticism he must be steering a straight course so he shrugs off the verbal attacks and goes on doing what he believes is best for the United Nations. When he first intervened in the Iranian case to state an opinion, he shocked some old diplomats who felt that a Secretary General must be like a child, seen but not heard. Lie likes nothing better than to get antagonists in a little room in his mansion in Forest Hills and let them talk out their troubles. Lie is paid $20,000 salary and $20,000 expenses yearly for being Secretary-General, plus the mansion. If he does not continue as Secretary General after next February 1, he will retire to Norway with an annual pension of $10,000 from the UN. Lie is bound heart and soul to the UN and never would leave it if he felt that it needed him.

Ernest Bevin, Britain's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, always can be depended upon to give one good rip-'em-up speech at the start of an Assembly. Then he lets his capable delegation carry on. The British have been represented by Sir Alexander Cadogan, one of the Founding Fathers of the UN, who retired last summer; Hector McNeil, who loves nothing more than a verbal joust with Vyshinski, and Sir Hartley Shawcross, who arrived at Lake Success with a red handkerchief spilling out of his coat pocket. Bevin has a new hand at the UN, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, who is showing himself a master of the sharp phrase.

A mighty voice for the small and medium countries in the UN was Herbert V. Evatt, former Foreign Minister of Australia and President of the General Assembly in Paris in 1948. Evatt ran that Paris meeting with a firm hand and he was particularly proud of its record of adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention against Genocide.

The man who became known as "Mr. UN" was Carlos P. Romulo, of the Philippines, President of the 1949 General Assembly. Romulo skillfully guided the Assembly and at the same time kept up a man-killing schedule of meetings and night engagements. He took only one night off during the long Assembly and that was because of a mix-up in engagements. He persuaded Vyshinski to go to the opera, took Eastern European delegates to see "South Pa-

MAN WITH THE IRON MASK:
Andrei Gromyko of the USSR

cific" and watched them warm to the show. He put on the fanciest President's reception yet held in the United Nations, and climaxed his performance with five speeches on the last day and dinner with Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a veteran in the halls of the UN, is one of the drawing cards for the public. Modest and unassuming, Mrs. Roosevent quietly exerts as much influence in the UN as any high official. She is always on the job during an Assembly, never complaining. Her big ambition is to see the UN complete the Covenant on Human Rights, which if adopted and ratified by the nations would give the force of international law to many of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on which she labored as head of the Commission.

There have been many others . . . Philip C. Jessup, United States, whose masterful handling of opening arguments before the Security Council on Berlin forced Vyshinski to put down the newspaper he was rudely reading and take notes . . . Hernan Santa Cruz, of Chile, a master on economic affairs . . . Ralph Bunche, famous as the negotiator of the armistices between Israel and her Arab neighbors . . . U. S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, who impressed everyone by his quiet dignity . . . and Poland's Juliusz Katz-Suchy, a sharp-tongued orator who took great delight in attacking John Foster Dulles.

The Bar of History

There is a lighter side at Lake Success. The bar at the Delegates' Lounge does a big business in orange juice, believe it or not. It also sells whiskey and the biggest day was on June 27, 1950, when the Security Council waited until late in the night for India and Egypt to get instructions on voting on the Council's enforcement resolution in the Korean war. The instructions did not come that night but the delegates kept the bar busy. One story about that historic night is that the Indian delegation got Prime Minister Nehru out of bed at 5 A.M. and heard him say "hello" as the connection failed.

There is a device in the diplomatic world called the cocktail party. It is known in other circles, too, but in the UN it is business as well as pleasure. When a delegate wishes to win friends and influence people he has a cocktail party. That is as much a part of the work as making or listening to a speech. Delegates who have been at each other's throats during a meeting often can be seen sipping a glass at a party as if they were old friends. The utmost in this sort of thing came in August when Malik, who had tangled with every member of the Security Council as President, gave a monster dinner for the Council and got good attendance. It is just part of the game of diplomacy.

There is a tradition in American politics that a politician must not be photographed with a glass in his hand. It is bad for votes. They may have that same custom in Russia, for at one reception attended by Gromyko he was holding a drink when a photographer aimed his camera. Mrs. Gromyko quickly leaned over and removed the glass before the picture was snapped. After the camera clicked, back went the glass and Gromyko continued his drink. Apparently no harm was done. Gromyko is now First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

French receptions are noted in the UN for their elegance and grace. One of the best was the dress affair Foreign Minister Robert Schuman gave in the Hall of the Clocks in the French Foreign Ministry during the Paris Assembly.

The British also gave a monster party at the Embassy in Paris during that Assembly. One guest ran across a British friend seeking his Russian opposite number in the economics field.

"He made me drink six vodkas at the Russian reception the other night and I intend to see that he gets a stomach full of scotch here," he said with a happy grin.

Russian receptions are fabulous affairs for food and drink, if you go early. After the first thirty minutes, you might as well bring a sandwich, for the board has been cleaned. By then you can get a drink but no caviar. The Russians admit guests by card and carefully retain the card as the guest walks into the room. Once a tall man who had had too much vodka came up to a guest at a Russian reception and said he knew a huge joke. The man was a White Russian, an old-time enemy of the Red regime, who had got past the screening board and was having a big time. That was at a reception for Molotov in 1946, when the screening should have been extremely careful.

On the whole the UN set has a good time off duty and many firm friendships have been made.

Assembly Steals The Show

The General Assembly has grown to be the heart of the United Nations. The founders at San Francisco shaped the Assembly as a place for the little fellows to blow off steam while the five big powers took care of the world in the Security Council. The Russian use of the veto in the Council—44 vetoes up to Sept. 7, 1950—stymied the Council, and caused the Assembly to be regarded as the real arena for international action.

The Assembly can only make recommendations, but these have great moral force. If the Russians had been on the Security Council when the Korean action began and had vetoed the Council decision, the United States and other countries were prepared to demand an immediate session of the Assembly.

The biggest show at the UN is the Assembly but the Security Council ran it a close race this summer. Television took the Council into many homes. The UN gained a host of well-wishers among Americans who watched Malik repeatedly tell what Western diplomats called the Big Lie, as he accused the United States of aggression in Korea. This new great public is now eagerly following the debates of the sixty nations at Flushing Meadows.

How long does a Soviet treaty last, and what does it accomplish?

The Anatomy Of Russian Peace Moves

By THE EDITORS

IT IS NOW evident that the USSR will not fight for North Korea. Moreover the attitude and the statements of Russian diplomats at Lake Success as well as in the major capitals of the world forecast a Russian peace drive.

Whether it will aim at easing the anti-Soviet feeling that has gripped the great majority of the nations as a consequence of the Korean attack or at settling all the complex problems of the cold war, is not yet clear to international observers. But that the Kremlin is on the verge of changing its get-tough policy to a get-soft policy is now taken for granted in the best informed international circles.

In order to evaluate precisely the motives behind such a peace drive and determine whether it could become the foundation for a genuine and lasting international settlement, two sets of factors must be closely examined.

One: What are the reasons which persuade Russia to soften its policy and seek rapprochement with the West?

Two: What is the record on past Russian offers of friendship and international agreements?

As to the first, it is agreed among the majority of the delegates at Lake Success that the USSR's decision is based on three key reasons.

First, Russia has been unable to convince Mao Tse-tung to emulate the North Koreans' aggression at the present crucial moment. Mao has his hands full trying to crush a quarter-million Kuomintang guerrillas, not to speak of flood, famine, sky-rocketing inflation, and China's other chronic economic ills. Like Tito in Yugoslavia, Mao has also refused Stalin's demand to precipitate full socialization, and for the same reason: The bulk of China's 490 million people are the families of small private farmers, who treasure their tiny plots of land as life itself. Russia has shown its displeasure by intentionally bungling its supposed efforts to bring Communist China into the UN. For Stalin hates to see men of Mao's independence of mind rub shoulders with the world's diplomats at Lake Success, where secret negotiations can easily be conducted under the guise of routine social functions.

Second, history shows that the USSR has always backed down before a show of force. Stalin groveled before Hitler in the two months just preceding the Nazi invasion of Russia. Russia stopped its occupation of Finland in 1940, when England and France formed small expeditionary corps to come to Finnish aid. The Berlin blockade was abandoned when America and England showed the transport strength of their air power.

Third, Stalin has always believed in dividing his enemies, and in taking advantage of friction, quarrels and wars among them. The Communist Korean aggression has produced precisely the opposite. For once the United Nations united—against the Communist Koreans and the USSR. Combined American, South Korean, Australian and British forces are winning the Korean war. All this gives Stalin occasion to think of peace.

But how sincere are Vyshinski's peace pleas? Would the USSR and its satellites truly abandon their aggressive designs if the Soviet offer of a Five-Power peace pact were taken up?

Part of the answer should certainly be gained from the study of the past alliances and treaties the Soviet signed with various nations during the last quarter of a century.

In the course of its stormy 33-year existence, the USSR has repeatedly been in hot water and has used various diplomatic instruments to good avail to lessen tensions in its external affairs. The Soviet has often made very substantial concessions, but the record of Soviet history shows that these concessions invariably amounted to no more than a temporary Stalinist retreat, a characteristic maneuver repeatedly described in Stalin's own writings.

Russia's Peace Moves *continued*

In the 1920's and 1930's the Soviet Union concluded a number of non-aggression and neutrality pacts with small neighboring countries and with amenable Great Powers. The average pact was a five-year treaty, but with automatic renewal clauses which made it virtually perpetual. Almost all these pacts were broken, denounced or violated by the USSR.

During the late 1930's, the Soviets turned to alliances as their standard form of safeguard agreement. But there too the USSR has been a consistent violator, denouncer or treaty-breaker. The few alliances not violated by Stalin have been those with satellites, which are under the Soviet's thumb anyway.

In international multilateral peace moves, the Soviets also have a consistent record of violation, both in letter and in spirit.

On these two pages, U N W presents a complete table of Soviet nonaggression and neutrality pacts, military alliances and participations in peace moves. The motives behind these diplomatic maneuvers as well as their eventual outcome are briefly noted.

An analysis of the tables shows the following results.

I—The Soviet signed, between 1925 and 1941, fifty nonaggression and neutrality pacts. Two of them were superseded by other treaties. Two were broken by the other signatories. Eleven pacts were broken, denounced or violated by the USSR.

II—Between 1935 and 1950, the USSR signed eighteen military alliances. Three of them were alliances with Soviet satellites, which were only intended to disguise Soviet control of the signatories. The other fifteen, signed with independent nations, were broken or violated in letter or spirit by the USSR.

III—Between 1928 and 1950, the USSR participated in seven major international peace moves. In each of these cases, the USSR acted against the letter and the spirit of the instrument of peace it had undertaken to uphold and promote.

Thus the sole conclusion that can be drawn from USSR deeds, rather than words, is that all Soviet nonaggression, neutrality, alliance and peace pacts are merely temporary maneuvers, safeguards of the moment. When conditions change in Stalin's favor, he junks the pacts as a matter of routine. The typical Soviet nonaggression or neutrality pact lasted an average of 10 years before Soviet violation. The average alliance lasted two years.

Soviet Non-Aggression and Neutrality Pacts

Year	Pact	USSR Motive	Result
1925	Turkish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	To establish close relations with country controlling Dardanelles.	USSR denounced this pact in 1945.
1926	German-Soviet Neutrality Pact.	Need for Soviet security when USSR was weak and its Politburo was split into quarreling factions	*Superseded by 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact.*
1926	Afghan-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Same as above.	Still in force, but USSR compelled Afghanistan to cede border territory to Russia in 1948.
1926	Lithuanian-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Same as above.	USSR annexed Lithuania in 1940.
1927	Iranian-Soviet Neutrality Treaty.	Desire to counteract British power in Near East.	USSR in 1941 occupied northern Iran by force. Occupation lasted five years.
1932	Finnish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Japanese seizure of Manchuria scared USSR. USSR proceeded to neutralize western frontiers.	USSR invaded Finland in 1939.
1932	Estonian-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Same as above.	USSR annexed Estonia in 1940.
1932	Latvian-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Same as above.	USSR annexed Latvia in 1940.
1932	Polish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Same as above.	USSR annexed east Poland in 1939.
1932	French-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Same as above.	*Superseded by 1935 French-Soviet Alliance.*
1933	Italian-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	Same as above.	*Italy invaded USSR in 1941.*
1937	Chinese-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	To oppose Japanese invasion of China proper.	USSR looted Manchuarian industry in 1945. Pact remained in force till USSR recognized Chinese Communists in 1949.
1939	Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	To prevent Nazi Germany from attacking USSR, and to gain USSR spheres of influence in East Europe.	*Germany invaded USSR in 1941.*
1941	Yugoslav-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	To show Soviet disapproval of Nazi expansion in the Balkans.	USSR broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia a month later.
1941	Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Treaty.	To avoid a two-front war with both Germany and Japan.	USSR in 1945 denounced this pact and invaded Japanese possessions.

Soviet Military Alliances

Year	Alliance	USSR Motive	Result
1935	French-Soviet-Czechoslovak Alliance.	To protect USSR from Nazi Germany.	USSR refused to aid Czechoslovakia against Hitler in 1938, when France did not help.
1936	Outer Mongolian-Soviet Alliance.	To counteract Japanese encroachment on Inner Mongolia.	USSR prevented Outer Mongolia from annexing Inner Mongolia after World War II.
1939	Estonian-Soviet Alliance.	To obtain Soviet bases in Estonia for protection of USSR from Germany.	USSR annexed Estonia in 1940.
1939	Latvian-Soviet Alliance.	To get Soviet bases in Latvia.	USSR annexed Latvia in 1940.
1939	Lithuanian-Soviet Alliance.	To get Soviet bases in Lithuania.	USSR annexed Lithuania in 1940.
1942	British-Soviet Alliance.	To gain ally for war against Germany.	Still in force, but USSR hardly treats Britain as an ally. Many Soviet violations, i.e. 1948–49 Berlin blockade.
1942	London Polish-Soviet Alliance.	To organize Polish army in Russia to help fight Germany.	USSR broke off diplomatic relations with London Poles in 1943.
1942	Iranian-British-Soviet Alliance.	To protect Lend-Lease supply route to Russia through Iran.	USSR violated this treaty by not immediately withdrawing Soviet troops from Iran after World War II.
1943	Czechoslovak-Soviet Alliance.	To form Czech brigade in Russia to help fight Germany.	USSR in 1945 forced Czechoslovakia to cede Ruthenia to Russia.
1944	French-Soviet Alliance.	To gain ally for war against Germany.	Still in force, but many Soviet violations, especially the USSR 1950 diplomatic recognition of the Viet Minh Indochinese rebels.
1945	Sino-Soviet Treaty of Alliance.	To gain main railways and ports of Manchuria, and to free Outer Mongolia from China.	In same year USSR looted Manchurian industry, and armed Chinese Communists with weapons captured from the Japanese.
1945	Yugoslav-Soviet Alliance.	To gain Adriatic submarine bases, and in general to create a security zone around USSR.	USSR denounced this alliance in 1949.
1945	Polish-Soviet Alliance.	To gain control of Baltic, and to safeguard USSR frontier.	In 1949 USSR forced Poland to accept Soviet Army marshal as Polish war minister.
1948	Finnish-Soviet Alliance.	To safeguard USSR frontier.	Periodic attacks against Finland in USSR press.
1948	Rumanian-Soviet Alliance.	Same as above.	
1948	Hungarian-Soviet Alliance.	Same as above.	
1948	Bulgarian-Soviet Alliance.	Same as above.	

Soviet Participation in International Peace Moves

Year	Peace Move	USSR Motive	Result
1928	USSR signs Kellogg-Briand Treaty outlawing war.	USSR scared by diplomatic break with England and China, raid on Soviet Embassy in Berlin, murder of Soviet Ambassador in Poland, all occurring in 1927.	USSR in 1929 invades Manchuria to recapture Chinese Eastern railway.
1929	USSR, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, and Rumania sign Protocol renouncing war.	Same as above.	USSR annexed east Poland in 1939, Estonia, Latvia, Bessarabia and North Bukovina in 1940.
1933	USSR, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Turkey sign Convention defining "aggression."	USSR scared by Jap seizure of Manchuria.	USSR invaded Finland in 1939, annexed Bessarabia and North Bukovina from Rumania in 1940, broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia in 1941, annexed Ruthenia from Czechoslovakia in 1945, and in same year denounced Turkish-Soviet non-aggression pact.
1935–38	USSR demands that League of Nations act against Axis aggression.	Soviet fear that Axis Powers would eventually attack Russia.	USSR invades Poland and Finland in 1939.
1936	USSR joins Non-Intervention Committee for Spanish Civil War.	To prevent Axis gains in Spain.	Same year, USSR sends military and material aid to Spanish Republicans.
1943	USSR abolishes Comintern.	To lull Tehran, Moscow, Yalta and Potsdam Western conferees into belief that the USSR had abandoned world revolution.	In 1947 Cominform founded with USSR participation.
1946–50	USSR pleads for peace at United Nations.	To gain time to expand Soviet industrial potential.	Berlin blockade, Soviet diplomatic support of Greek, Chinese, Indochinese and North Korean warring Communists.

HIS PROUDEST Moment: Aga Khan leads in Blenheim after his victory in the Derby

The inside story of the

The Secret

By **PRINCE ALY KHAN**

as told to Joe Palmer

SINCE the Thoroughbred, despite its ultimate Eastern origin, was developed as a racing breed in England and by exportation has populated the race tracks of all the world, it would have seemed improbable in the early years of the present century that India and Ireland would team up to exercise a stronger influence on the production of race horses than the studs in any single ownership had ever done before. Not all of the horses bred by my father, H.H. the Aga Khan, and myself have been foaled in Ireland, of course, but from the beginning Sheshoon, to which Teresina was retired in 1925, and later Ballymanny, have been the principal weapons in our enterprises.

This is a rather extensive claim, and perhaps I should document it at once. To begin with, my father has been seven times leading breeder in England, and twelve times he has headed the list of winning owners, which is the more remarkable because our green and chocolate silks have been up only since 1922. It would be tedious to list the stallions now standing in England and Ireland which trace back to our studs, but we now have in Ireland Stardust, Palestine, Turkhan, Field Day, and Dastur, and in England Teheran, Migoli, Mirza, and Bois Roussel, the latter winner of the Epsom Derby in 1938.

The United States has imported three of our Epsom Derby winners, Blenheim, Mahmoud, and Bahram.

PRINCE ALY KHAN

The very specialized paradox of the man may be suggested by his eyes. They cannot fail to reflect the ancient mysticism of a descendant of Mahomet whose followers believe him capable of foretelling future events and who was born into a tradition of unquestioned religious leadership. At the same time they have measured the frenetic pace of the modern world of which the Prince is undoubtedly a part. Contrary to a widely held view in countries where his co-religionists are uncommon, Prince Aly Khan is overwhelmingly a serious and responsible man. This side of him has been overlooked because, in the true Arab tradition, he also plays hard. And it is his playing that the world press inevitably reports with gusto. Actually the Prince works hard for the success of his father's enterprises. Today, at 39 (*seen at left with his wife Rita*), he is turning his eyes Eastward toward the social advancement of those who have for ages followed his ancestors.

century's most fabulous racing stable

# of Father's Success

THE IDYLLIC GILLTOWN STUD FARM PHOTOGRAPHED FROM THE AIR

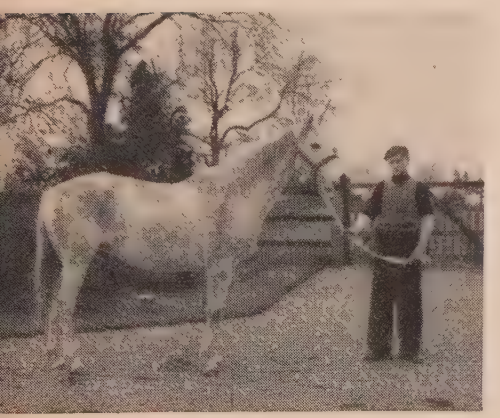
The latter, only unbeaten Triple Crown winner since Ormonde, was subsequently resold to Argentina, but Blenheim and Mahmoud have each led the American sire list, the former being responsible for Whirlaway, one-time leading money-winner of the world and now sent back across the Atlantic, to France. Other of our stallions exported to the United States are Alibhai, second on the American list in 1947 and recently purchased by a syndicate for $500,000, Gino, Hairan, and more lately Nasrullah, whose son, Noor, had already been sold to the states, where he has set two world records and one American record.

Our fourth Derby winner, My Love, was exported to France, and our studs have furnished the same country with Mirza, Zionist, Umiddad, Avenger, Sadruddin, and various others. South America has taken such others as Rustom Pasha, Badruddin, Vermillion Pencil, Felicitation, and Sind.

America, France, and South America are of course the great markets for Thoroughbreds, but we have sent Lightship to Denmark, Darbhanga to Sweden, Dark Japan to Spain, Firdaussi to Roumania, Bahrein and Taj Akbar to Hungary, Clustine and Mehrali to South Africa, Mas D'Antibes and Barra Sahib to India, Theft to Japan, and various stallions, including Dhoti, Bulandshar, Le Grand Duc, and Nizami, to Australia and New Zealand. This seems about to cover the ground, and if the produce of any other stud has reached so completely around the earth, the fact has been concealed.

My father was first interested in the possibility of setting up a stud in 1904, on the advice of Lord Wavertree, whom he was visiting at Tully, in Ireland. But he was very busy with political matters at that time, and the idea of having only a small stud did not appeal to him.

It was consequently not until 1921 that he began. He had tried to get George Lambton, of Newmarket, to train for him, but when this proved impossible he did succeed in getting Lambton to pick out and buy yearlings for him at the Doncaster September sales. There is nothing quite as irresistible as a trainer bidding with some one else's money, and



DAME of Palestine, one of Aga Khan's famous horses is being paraded by a stable boy on grounds of Una, Ballymanny

when the sales were over we had eight yearlings which cost 24,500 guineas, or about fifteen per cent of the total for the entire sales.

The Story of Teresina

The first of these of any moment was Teresina. Lord Glanely went to 7,600 guineas on her, but Lambton raised to 7,700 and Somerville Tattersall dropped the hammer. She won the Great Yorkshire Stakes in 1923 and was third in the St. Léger, and in the following year won The Royal Plate at Newbury, the Goodwood Cup, and the Jockey Club Stakes, beating the Derby winner, Papyrus. She was retired after winning nearly £14,000, and in the stud gave us Theresina, winner of the Irish Oaks.

A more immediate return from the same sale came from Cos, which cost 5,000 guineas and in the following year won six of her seven races and £8,027. She was likewise successful in the stud, producing Rustom Pasha.

But a prodigious success was scored in the September sales of 1922, when Lambton paid the highest sum given for a filly since Sceptre had brought 10,000 guineas. He went to 9,100 guineas for a grey filly by The Tetrarch, a brilliant speed horse which had been known in his racing days as "the spotted wonder." It is generally acknowledged that she was the fastest filly in the entire history of racing.

The important point was not that Mumtaz Mahal won all of her races at two except the last, and lost that only because the going was very heavy, though there was no real objection to the £11,763 she won that year. But in these fillies, and in Friar's Daughter, bought at the same sale as Mumtaz Mahal and destined to be the dam of Dastur and the unbeaten Bahram, we had the great foundation mares without which it is impossible to build a successful stud. Mumtaz Mahal practically produced a dynasty. Her own foals included Badruddin, Mirza, and Furrokh Siyar, and among her later descendants are Nasrullah, Khan Bahadur, and Mahmoud, the latter consistently a top sire in America.

Also among these early purchases were Diophon, which gave us our first victory in England's great three-year-old classics, the Two Thousand Guineas, and Salmon Trout, which whirled up in the last hundred yards, under Brownie Carslake, to win the punishing St. Léger Stakes, regarded as "the stayer's badge." With these victories and others by Mumtaz Mahal and Teresina, the Aga Khan's name headed the owners' list in 1924 for the first time.

It was a remarkable achievement for an owner who had been in racing for only three seasons, and no dominating stable, not even that of Marcel Boussac in France or of Warren Wright in America, has been built so fast. My father would be first to acknowledge George Lambton's discernment in his purchases, and the skill of R. C. Dawson, of Whatcombe, in training them. But some credit also must go to the more than £100,000 which he put into untried bloodstock in these early years.

Hold on to your Mares!

There were later purchases also, but as Sheshoon became gradually stocked with mares from the stable we began to produce sufficient yearlings of our own, and eventually came to replenishing studs all over the world. As any breeder will tell you, selling horses is five times better business than buying them. But we have followed the ancient Arabian custom of parting readily enough (and for sufficient consideration) with great stallions, but hoarding our top broodmares very jealously. There is, in fact, no excuse except hunger for selling outstanding producing mares.

The towering success of the studs must be indicated only in capsule form, and restricted to the great races. Perhaps the most important race in the world is the Derby at Epsom, and in addition to the four winners mentioned earlier, we have had seven seconds and three thirds in it. The Two Thousand Guineas fell to Diophon, Bahram, and Palestine, and in this we had six seconds and four thirds. Firdaussi, Bahram, Turkhan, and Teheran followed Salmon Trout in winning the St. Léger, though only Bahram could knit the three for the Triple Crown.

On the filly side, we have won the Oaks, England's greatest race for three-year-old fillies, with Udaipur and Masaka. Since perhaps no one can have quite everything, we have never been successful in winning the One Thousand Guineas, though we have had three seconds and one third. We have, however, bred one winner, Taj Mah, though she had passed from our hands before her victory. There's still time, anyway.

These are the five classic races in England. In addition we have won the Ascot Cup twice, and every other great race in England. To this may be added the French Derby and two runnings of the Grand Prix de Paris, and though we have not won the French Oaks we sold three winners—Fairy Legend, Mary Legend, and Ukrania. All of the Irish classics, including five runnings of the Irish Derby, have come to us, and all of the big races in India.

But it is extremely difficult to get it all. In 1932 we ran four horses for the St. Léger, and got only first, second, fourth, and fifth. Silvermere slipped in and got third money, spoiling what would have been the most complete sweep in the 150-year history of England's longest classic race. But it's a record as it stands.

When an outstanding stud is founded, its success is first attributed to "luck." After it has gone on until this explanation begins to show seams, the weight of money poured into it is credited, as though hundreds of men in many countries had not put fortunes into racing without any satisfactory return. For a while it was reported in racing papers that my father, in planning the matings of the stock, was guided by astrology. If it were true, breeders everywhere would do well to begin a study of the stars. In our case the stars were in the stable and in the breeding paddocks.

Occupation: Sultan

By **SYLVIA MARTIN**
World Traveler and Writer

A BEIGE Simca Eight was whistled down for speeding on a boulevard in Casablanca. Whipping out his book, the French traffic cop descended upon the driver—a Moor dressed in a fez and jelab, his eyes hidden behind blue glasses. "Name?" the cop demanded brusquely.

"Mohamed."

The officer stared suspiciously at the blue glasses. To the French in their North African protectorate, all the Moors who aren't Ahmed are Mohamed. Was the culprit trying to be funny? "Full name!" he barked.

"Mohamed ben Youssef."

Not much better. A John Smith, that. "Address?"

"The Palace, Rabat."

The cop set his jaw. "Occupation?"

"Sultan of Morocco."

The luckless officer began to apologize, but the man behind the wheel cut him short: "I know my duties—do you know yours?"

Two minutes later the Sultan drove off with a summons. Two days later, after calls had been made from the palace, the officer was promoted.

A merchant from Taza, visiting Rabat, went into a shop to buy a silk kerchief for his little girl. While he stated his errand another customer entered. The Tazan glanced at him, looked away, looked again. The man was wearing dark glasses, but there was no mistaking that line of jaw and the firm but sensitive mouth. They were those of the photographs hanging in a million homes and shops. Moreover, they were stamped on the kerchiefs the shopkeeper was even now laying before him. Backing away from the pile of silks, the Tazan blurted out, "No, no! Wait on His Majesty first!"

The Sultan gave him one of his rare smiles. "Thank you, my friend, but justice must be done in small things as in large. You are first, not I." And as a father with daughters of his own, he put himself to helping the Tazan make his choice.

As a descendant of the Prophet through the Alouite dynasty which has ruled Morocco for 400 years, Sidi Mohamed ben Youssef holds

H. M. SIDI MOHAMED BEN YOUSSEF, SULTAN OF MOROCCO

Occupation: Sultan *continued*

the title of Commander of the Faithful. This makes him a godlike being. But he is a divinity who walks among his people like one of them—simple and direct, dignified but without pretensions. Like the famous Caliph of *The Thousand and One Nights,* he likes to walk out of his palace in disguise. As one of his own Tuareg guards, he strolls about the crowded medina or sits at a sidewalk café watching and listening while sipping an American cola.

The Master's Voice

Gently and wisely he has been trying for 20 years to mold a modern nation out of an ancient feudal empire. A slight man of 40 just beginning to thicken around waist and chin, he has a memorable metallic voice which to his enemies is like a steel whip. His pale face and full dark eyes hold such a lonely and dignified sadness that when he appears on state occasions in flowing white robes and turban under the green-and-gold parasol of sovereignty, he seems to be carrying all his people's burdens on his shoulders.

But he is very human. He has a temper. When that steel-like voice rings out, servants flee, doors slam all through the palace, and his pet orang-outang makes for the nearest tree. These outbursts are becoming rarer. The latest occurred a few years ago when he got news of an incident on the beach of Temara. A small army plane had crashed on the beach. The police, with a "Hey, you, Ahmed!" tried to commandeer the car of a departing bather to rush the two victims to the hospital. Offended by the rude address, the driver revealed himself as Prince Moulay Hassan, the Sultan's eldest son, told them to choose another car, and shot off. Hearing of the accident, the Sultan laid into his son, his face white with anger. "Devil take your pride! The life of a beggar is worth more than your title!"

Although a stern disciplinarian, His Majesty is a father much on the western model, adored by his three daughters and two sons. Almost as soon as they could toddle he guided their education. He punished laziness and black marks so sternly—wielding a lemon-colored babouch, or slipper—that the governess often conspired to keep bad reports from him. Part of this education has been fatherly counsel in democratic behavior unheard of for an oriental potentate. When the children began to clamor to go to the movies in town, he said, "Very well, but you will go as plain citizens. None of this, 'Make way for Their Royal Highnesses!' You will buy your tickets and quietly see the show instead of being one."

All this has been done with a purpose more than paternal. For the Sultan is teaching his people by example in every way he can think of. Thus, he has only one wife. He himself never mentions the delicate point, but the lesson has not been lost. He does have concubines, however—an old Moslem custom.

For centuries Morocco has been the most conservative stronghold of Islam. But Sidi Mohamed has brought up his daughters to be modern young women who go about unveiled, play tennis in shorts, and drive cars and jeeps. Fanatics have attacked him for this and for advocating the education of women. But since his own piety is above reproach the bigots shout in vain.

Freedom for Daughter

Little by little the best families are freeing their daughters. While mothers, even of the *shorfa* or aristocracy, can't read or write, and leave their homes only once a week, heavily veiled, for the baths, the daughters are going to school to become nurses and teachers.

"The young generation walks with the Devil!" moan the bearded patriarchs. But how can the girls be kept down when, in the mind of every woman, from peasant to fine lady, is a certain vision confirmed by photographs in a thousand harems—Princess Lalla Aisha at 17, unveiled, delivering a state speech before an international audience of 5,000 in Tangiers!

How Sidi Mohamed "happened" is a mystery both to France and to his own people. Nothing was expected of him. Nobody knows where he got his modern ideas, his feeling of responsibility toward his people, and his fighting spirit.

He wasn't slated for the throne. His own childhood was unhappy. The youngest of four sons, he was delicate, sensitive, grave. He was overshadowed by his robust and vigorous brothers, neglected, allowed to go dirty and hungry. He used to drop in at the villas which house the families of the French palace employes to cadge an egg or a piece of bread. His first real friend was a baby orang-outang. Now full grown, it is still his companion.

Just before his father's death, in 1927, the boy was put under house imprisonment to keep him out of the way of intrigues over the succession. The Moroccan sultanate is not automatically handed down from father to eldest son. The new sultan may be chosen from among any of the near male relatives by a council of wise men—oulemas. Since the Protectorate was established, in 1912, the French have had something to say, principally through Si Thami el Mokri, the incredibly aged and shrewd Grand Vizier, their special friend at court.

Prince Mohamed, the royal family's ugly duckling, was only 16 when the French were looking for a puppet. They reasoned: give young Mohamed the throne, and for five years el Mokri, France's friend, would rule as regent. And after? Well, the young Sultan was supposed to loll through life on the divans among the imperial gardens and tinkling fountains, surrounded by wives, concubines and dancing girls. He would receive the ritual homage of the tribes and make ceremonial appearances. As for governing, all he had to do was to sign the *dahirs,* or decrees, the Paris-appointed resident general would thrust under his nose.

But what were his duties? No one seemed able to tell him, not even the all-wise el Mokri. So he began by taking into his own hands the running of the palace at Rabat. This is in itself no small job. What is loosely called the palace is a city in itself.

Within the outer walls live several thousand people—principally the swarthy Tuareg tribe gathered from the south by a previous sultan. In the old days of constant battle they were the sovereign's most loyal troops and servants. Many have jobs in town now, but they have a right in perpetuity to live in the royal precincts. Then there is the magnificent Senegalese Black Guard which must be provided with horses, fine trappings, and lodgings for their families.

The House of Sixty Women

The inner palace holds the private apartments of the Sultan and about 60 women—lingering wives and concubines of past rulers, his own concubines, spinster aunts, cousins and nieces. It is a feminine beehive. Very early Sidi Mohamed moved his children from this hothouse atmosphere into a villa of their own.

There survives, further, an army of servants and factotums with picturesque functions going back a thousand years—the bearer of the parasol, the fly-flickers, the tea-makers and cushion-bearers. Modernism has stepped in with attendants of the radiators and the palace cinema, the swimming pool and the tennis court.

Young Sidi Mohamed might have puttered his life away behind the walls. But in 1930, only three years after he was named to the throne, the French promulgated the Berber *dahir*, a decree which brought protests from Moslems as far away as India and Java. A divide-and-rule measure, its purport seemed to them to wean the tribes from Mohammedanism and split the country into two hostile camps.

Immediately Morocco was in an uproar. Demonstrations became bloody riots when troops charged them with fixed bayonets. Hundreds of arrests were made, respected citizens exiled. Delegations trying to reach the Sultan were stopped by the police or by el Mokri.

By underground routes the news reached the Sultan. He examined the *dahir* and found his own signature on it. He became thoughtful. All these things were being done in his name. He was responsible for prisoners and exiles, for wounds and weeping families. The 19-year-old mock-Sultan, after long hours at prayer, resolved to be a puppet no longer.

When just 21, and with a past entirely innocent of intrigue, Sidi Mohamed fashioned a plot of masterful simplicity. He sent secret messages to the five most powerful pashas of Morocco, asking them to demand an audience. When they arrived at the palace, the puzzled Grand Vizier announced their presence. The Sultan remarked thoughtfully, "How long is it, Your Excellency, since my accession?" El Mokri answered promptly, "Five years to the day, Your Majesty." "In that case," said the Sultan, "I am of age. The regency is at an end. You may go." By receiving in his own right the five most important pashas of Morocco, without the Grand Vizier as mouthpiece, Sidi Mohamed dramatically established the fact of his majority.

The World's Oldest Minister

El Mokri is still the Grand Vizier. At 108, he is as astute as ever, but he no longer gives orders; he takes them. The Sultan has surrounded himself with men he can trust. Every time the French Residency sends down a *dahir* it goes to his "kitchen cabinet" where it is studied in the light of international, French, and Moslem law, and Moroccan conditions. Sometimes a counter-proposal is made. Sometimes the answer is a downright "No!" A decree is ineffective without the Sultan's signature.

By treaty, France is bound to protect not only the Sultan's sovereignty but his person. On the pretext that public manifestation might endanger his life, the French Resident General forbade the Sultan to go to Marrakech to lay the cornerstone for a new school. Sidi Mohamed sat tight and waited. For three years the people of Morocco's southern capital kept demanding the release of their Sultan. This year the Resident General was forced to give in.

A Sultan Makes Good

Never had Morocco seen such a demonstration as that which greeted the Sultan in Marrakech. The old red-walled city under the Atlas mountains was thronged with men from as far south as the edge of the Sahara. Two hundred thousand people waited in the hot sun to acclaim "Our Own Lord."

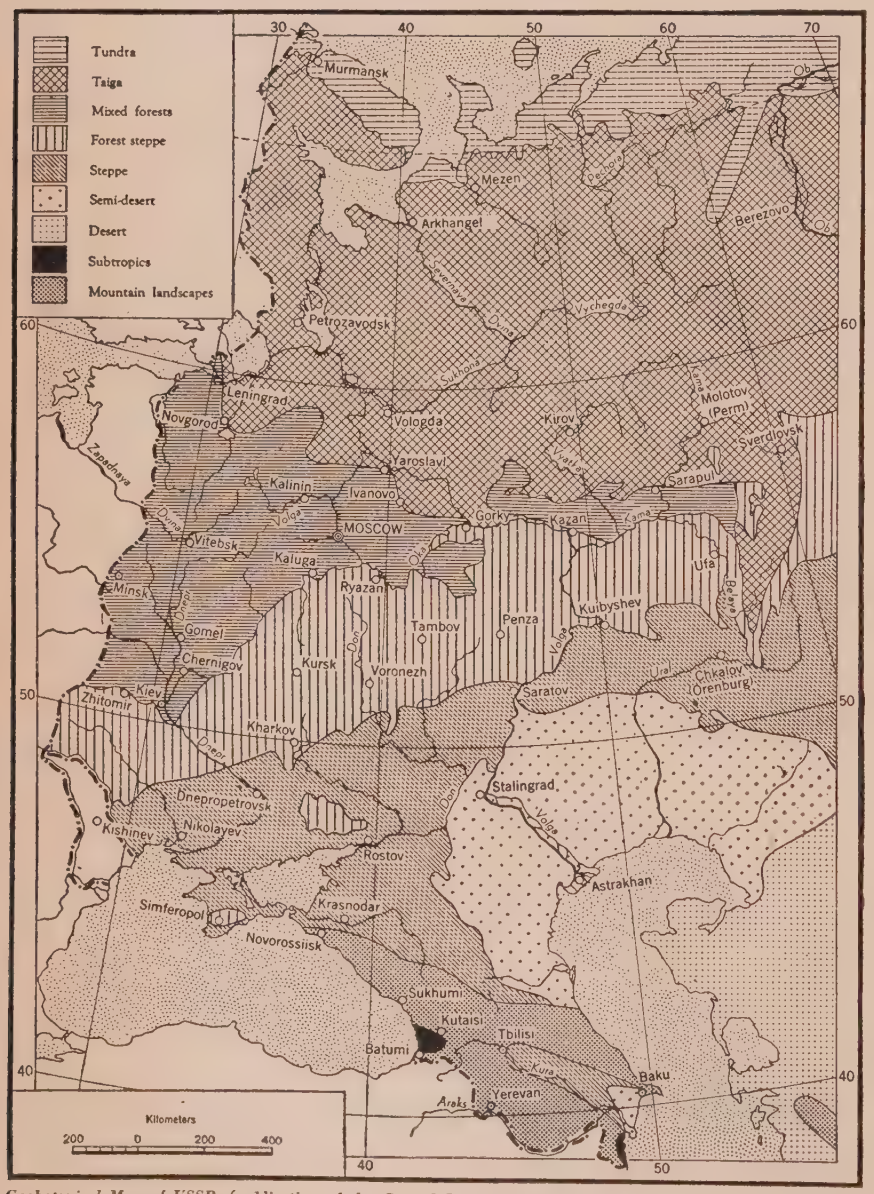
He rode on Friday to the Koutoubia mosque in snowy ceremonial white. His spirited Arabian mount was pure white. His Black Guard were in their winter scarlet tunics. The people pressed so close that they could touch his parasol-bearer and his fly-flickers snapping their white handkerchiefs. The air was filled with the deep-throated roars of the men and the high-pitched lulliloos of the women who had come so far to see him.

The Sultan, his eyes shining, inclined to right and left, his small white hands spreading the *baraka*, or benediction, which is the mystic gift of the Commander of the Faithful. His mouth, usually so stern, was softened in a smile of deep peace. For the Sultan of Morocco had come into his own.

Some geographical facts that upset a stubborn fallacy about the land of Russia

The Russian Horizon

THE VEGETATION of European Russia shows the extension of the "mixed forests" further and further southward into the former steppe. Notice extent of large semi-deserts in the south.



Geobotanical Map of USSR (publication of the Central Botanical Garden, 1928-29)

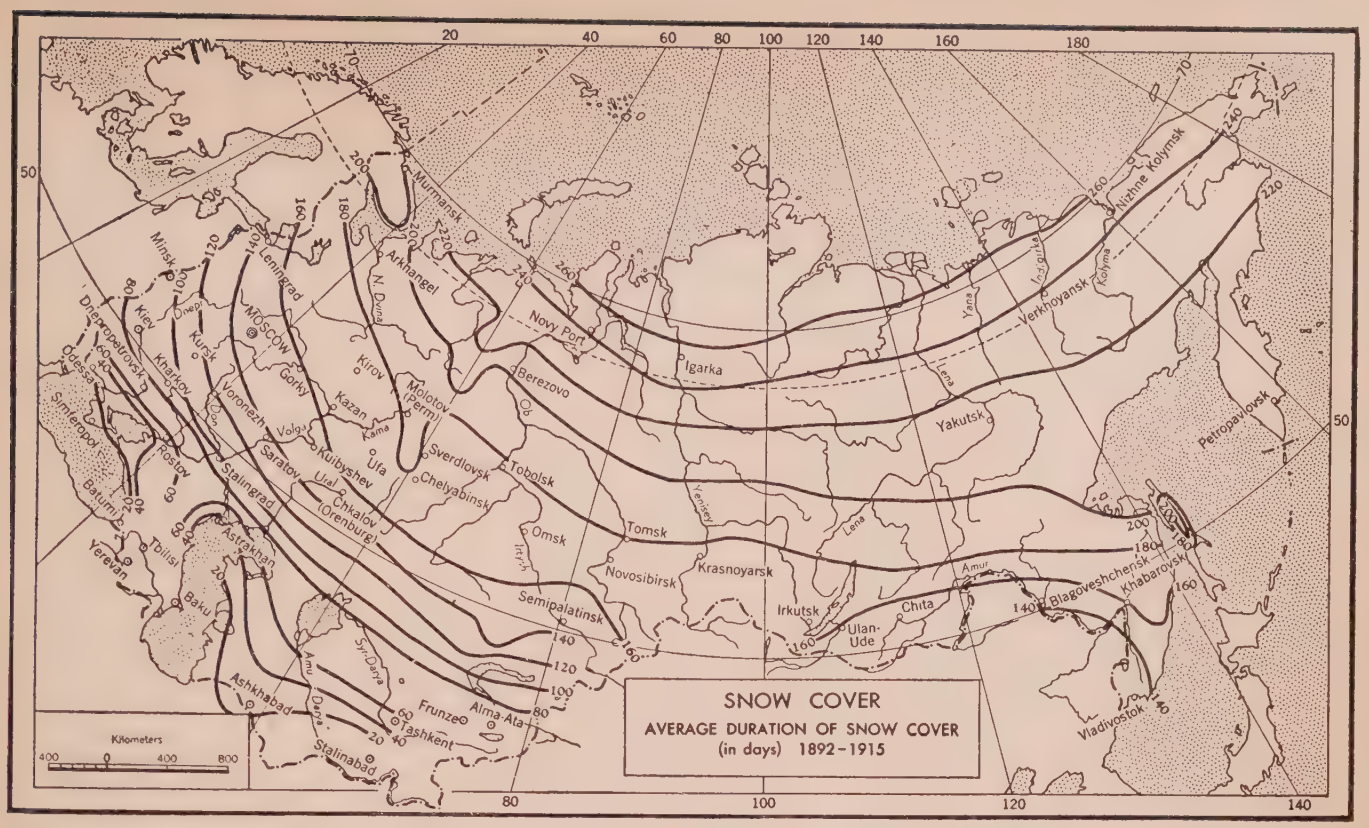
By DAVID CORT

AN obvious but neglected highroad toward learning about the Russians might be to learn about Russia. Most discussions of the physical, geographical facts that surround the life of the Russian peasant boil down to one simple fallacy: the steppe. Even scholarly and careful writers harp on the Russian "*prostor*," the endless perspectives of the steppe or the peasant's heartache or agoraphobia as he broods on the horizon, "for the plains stretch from the Finnish marshes to the China sea." The Russian plain is described as "that eternity of nothingness from which the nihilists perhaps derived their rage."

The two statements quoted above are entirely misinformed about Russia's geography. But they are typical.

What then is the landscape which a Russian peasant actually learns to love, what childhood scene is engraved in his heart, if not this endless plain?

What the Russian sees four months of the year over most of Russia is snow. He sees snow over five months a year (160 days) every-



Climatological Atlas of the USSR
(publication of the Central Planning Commission, Leningrad, 1933)

NAPOLEON AND HITLER should have examined this map showing the astonishing length and severity of the Russian winter even in the heavily populated areas. Key numbers are given at ends of the lines.

where north of a line drawn south of Novgorod, Vladimir, Gorki, Kazan, Kirov. Around Moscow he has only two months without frost: July and August. The days of frost average 175. Every second day all year long it either rains or snows. Spring is cooler than fall because of melting snow. Around April 19 the Moscow snow disappears and the aspens, alders, willows and black poplars burst into bloom. The summer days get as hot as 100°F., but the nights in Moscow are cool. The first snow falls in mid-October and the Moskva River freezes on November 8.

The Russian is clearly a cold-weather man. His mind is stimulated by the cold but he must spend a good deal of the year hunched over a fire, thinking about his life in an introverted, helpless way. He sorely needs heat-giving foods. What he gets is cornmeal mush, rye bread, tea, beet soup, pot cheese, cabbage, cucumbers, a lot of pancakes and some sausage. When at last spring comes, he must feel an extravagant sense of release, a luxury of warmth.

The heart of Russia, comprising most of its great cities, is not the interminable steppe, but is divided into two parts by geographers: "mixed forest" and "forest steppe." North of this zone is the "taiga" or coniferous forest, running into the tundra. South of it is the true steppe, running into semi-desert and desert.

The typical tree of the "mixed forest" is the oak. It grows in a mixed stand with spruce, pine, fir, aspen, linden, hornbeam and the European filbert, in a landscape not unlike that of New York State. The soil of the zone, called "podzol" because one layer is of the color of ashes, tends to grow leached and sandy, on top of a clayey soil.

The animal life has been decimated over the centuries by the meat-hungry Russians. There are still some elk and roebuck, as well as bear, fox, lynx, wolf, badger, ermine and squirrel and even a few surviving beavers in the unsettled parts. The birds include the goldfinch, blackbird, green woodpecker, wryneck, roller, azure tit, pied flycatcher and icterine warbler, mostly small elusive birds of no great food value.

This great forest area is slowly and steadily marching south into the steppe. Where it has partly engulfed the steppe it is called the "forest steppe," the most useful and thickly inhabited section of the USSR.* The first stage in this forest conquest is represented by gray willow, followed by aspen and finally by elms, birch, oak, maple and linden.

This land, at first glance not unlike Indiana or Illinois, has some distinct peculiarities all its own. The soil, mostly chernozem, is based on a porous chalky material called loess, which crumbles vertically. As a consequence the drainage systems are marked by steep bare bluffs and deep branching gullies. A second oddity is the presence of sandy terraces and dunes left by ancient glaciers; and a third is the frequency of shallow ponds and bogs. A fourth, more typical of northern Russia, is a vast

* For example, it produced Turgenev, Tolstoi and Lenin. Pushkin and Dostoevski were products of Moscow, in the "mixed forest."

sphagnum bog in the Black Forest west of the Dnieper.

Clearly there is a wide variety of landscapes to distract the Russian peasant from brooding on "that eternity of nothingness." Most of the distraction is provided by useless land.

The steppe areas in the forest steppe are almost entirely under cultivation; almost no virgin steppe remains. The growth of plants is tall and thick and forms a continuous sod, though the sod becomes intermittent further south. In the spring a continuous carpet of moss protects the steppe from erosion by the melting snow. The steppe first turns purple with the flowering of the pasqueflower, then at the end of April shifts to the yellow of spring adonis, then to June's pale blue of the woodland forget-me-not, then turns back to dark purple with meadow sage, pink in July with Hungarian sainfoin and finally dull brown with the crowds of withered stalks. In a square mile there may be 77 species of plants.

The animal life of the advancing forest is here varied with the burrowing rodents of the steppe: the suslik, jerboa and bobac. The imperial eagle soars overhead and nests in the tallest trees. Several kinds of doves and pigeons, orioles and the thrush nightingale make the groves musical. And here is to be found, in the south and west, the bird that should make it all familiar: the common robin, yanking Russian worms out of the sod as imperiously as its cousins fall upon Indiana worms.

This is in sum a delightful, broken, romantic landscape, in which a man can easily find room to be alone, to walk out into the meadow sage and lie down and close his eyes against the sun.

These two dominant zones do not of course comprise all of the USSR, or even all of European Russia.

The true steppe lies to the south and east, fertile, well-drained, sunny, warm and dry in summer, its endless perspectives waving with grain or with the pinnate feather grasses of May whose tossing plumes present a silvery gray sheen not unlike wind-blown water, except for the protruding red heads of the steppe thistle. The grain is often damaged by the *sukhovey* wind from the east or southeast which dries the air and sends the temperature up to 100°F. In the spring the susliks come out of their burrows to sit in the sun and enjoy the crocus, hyacinth and tulip.

Formerly the steppe was roamed, not only by Mongol herdsmen, but by herds of wild horses, saiga antelope, deer and roebuck which helped the growth by trampling the seeds of the blue grass into the soil. Most of these have gone (the last wild mare was shot in 1876), to be replaced by the Russian herds.

In the desert steppe to the south there is no spring at all. From winter, which may grow as cold as 40 below Zero, the year turns abruptly to summer, which may get as hot as 100 above. In many places, especially east of the Volga, overgrazing has destroyed the vegetation that held the sands from blowing away.

The Terrifying Forest

In the true desert still further south, summer is still drier and hotter. The awesome, even terrifying, sight of the desert is the saxaul forest. The saxaul tree grows fast and thick but no higher than about 20 feet. It is so hard that an ax hardly makes an impression on it. When it dies it lies undecayed in the forest, black and imperishable. The result is a twisted, luminous, palebarked forest tangle, silent and birdless, clogged with a leaning cemetery of black dead wood.

To move to the other, northern, extreme of Russia, there remains to be described the tundra. It is not quite all bog, but a good half of it is sphagnum peat bog, underlaid by a permanent ground frost. Snow may fall in any month of the year, though most of it blows away. The frost period lasts half a year in Europe, more than eight months in most of Siberia. At any season, there is very little sunshine on the tundra.

Just as the forest is marching into the steppe in the south, the tundra is moving into the forest from the north. The reason may be that tundra weather has been getting slightly warmer. Life in the tundra begins in mid-June; the birds nest quickly and leave by mid-August.

The forest that borders the tundra and covers northern Russia is the "taiga" or coniferous forest. It is made up of spruce, Scotch pine, Siberian fir, larch and stone pine. But where it has been cut over or burned, birch, aspen and alder grow. As one gets further from the oceans, the *taiga* winters get colder until one reaches the coldest spot in the world, Verkhoyansk in the Siberian *taiga*.

The curse of this zone is really sphagnum moss which absorbs a great deal of water and prevents ground water from running off.

Such a terrain inevitably reminds us of parts of Canada. And indeed the mosquito is as much the bane of *taiga* men and animals as it is of Canadians. The *taiga* is also notable for its flood-plain meadows and valuable dry-valley meadows given to hay and pasture land, as in Quebec.

Obviously the Russian of the *taiga* is not the same man as the Canadian, or the Russian of the "mixed forests" identical with the York Stater, or the Russian of the forest steppe indistinguishable from the Indiana Hoosier, or the Russian of the steppe a full brother to the Iowan or Argentinian. But on the other hand these Russians have childhood memories of the land much like those of other people.

The geography given here omits the peripheral areas of the USSR.

One must properly look instead, for the soul of Russia, to the "mixed forest" and forest steppe. The flora that has created these two zones is in fact an extension, in fairly recent historical times, of the deciduous forests of Central Europe.In a botanical sense, it may therefore be said that Russia is being slowly Europeanized, as the "Western" elms, oaks and maples overrun the pastoral steppes once sacred to the Mongol herds.

In these slow processes of soil and seed may perhaps be detected the preliminary to the reconditioning of the Russian soul. If one can wait.

The Nations of the United Nations

Sixth of a series of special UNW surveys:

Pakistan

Asia's Century And the United Nations

By SIR MOHAMMAD ZAFRULLAH KHAN
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan

THE significance and importance of the United Nations have by now become axiomatic. Ideas, principles or institutions become axiomatic, when they are silently accepted as essential and vital to our way of thinking and living. One has often deliberately to remind oneself of them in order to realize the wonder of the acceptance.

It is true that some of us are dissatisfied with the United Nations either for fundamental reasons or on account of individual actions or decisions.

Some are strongly critical of the fact that important decisions are taken in the United Nations more "through diplomatic channels" than through discussion in open forum and that the debates which millions of hopeful men and women all over the world follow with such intense interest are not always as real as the naive imagine them to be; or, that the United Nations is somewhat excessively dominated by the major powers.

But no nation, however disgruntled, has yet chosen to abandon this major international project. And this, to my mind, is a most hopeful sign.

Amongst the strongest critics of the United Nations is, for example, the USSR. But although the USSR has on several occasions thought fit to dissociate itself from its deliberations, even to the extent of walking out of its meetings, it has given no indication of its desire to relinquish membership.

The case of China and the question of its participation in the United Nations has now been under discussion

for many months. It will be noted that the controversy owes its existence to the fact that people want to join the United Nations and not that they want to relinquish it.

There is this to be remarked, therefore, that whatever the divergent views about the efficacy of the United Nations, there is no divergence as to its significance. The United Nations is the greatest symbol of internationalism in the world today. In the present stage of the development of world politics, nationalism still holds sway, but the idea of internationalism has definitely been born.

But it is not upon this aspect of the United Nations that I wish to dilate. I wish, rather, to view it, if possible, from a contemplative distance and to sit before it as one would sit before a window through which one can see the procession of history in the making.

When one watches the landscape through a train window, the nearest objects seem to acquire terrific momentum and move with alarming speed in a contrary direction; the farthest trees appear to move more slowly and with one. Objects in the middle distance move this way or that according to the point of reference. In watching history in the making through the aperture of the United Nations, one may discern the same parallax.

What is to be seen in the near distance? The answer, obviously, is: the East-West conflict. It looms so large and appears so menacing. Television cameras are trained upon it, and headlines flourish on it. I need not describe this part of the panorama in any great detail because everyone is so familiar with it.

If you will, however, take your eyes away for a moment from this arresting view, I would invite you to look at the less spectacular landscape in the middle distance.

The middle distance is the name I choose to give to the economic and social activities of the United Nations —the program of social welfare, human rights, aid to children and to the handicapped, of technical assistance and economic help to underdeveloped parts of the world.

These programs are constant reminders to the more favored nations of the world that the time has come for them to step out into the vast constructive fields of human endeavor that lie before them. As long as there is glaring disequilibrium in the world their own prosperity is in danger. To the extent to which they realize and appreciate this, they will feel that they are moving gently with the current of history. If, on the other hand, they feel that they have no moral responsibility in the matter, they will regard the current as moving against them, although it will be really they who are moving against the current.

But it is the far distance which to my mind is the most important.

I wonder how many people are fully alive to the fact that although the international scene is still dominated by the stately figures of the European powers and the United States of America, yet events every day are forcing them to turn their attention to Asia.

The emergence of Japan as a world power, the independence of Burma, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, the inclusion of China amongst the Big Five, the importance of the group of independent countries in the Middle-East, the independence of Indonesia, the international significance of the problems of the Chinese people and the appearance of Korea in the most recent headlines—do not these spell out a new and important Asiatic chapter in the chronicles of our age?

As these items float into our ken singly, we exhibit a little interest in them for a while and then forget them as though they were distant matters with which we were not much concerned. But viewed in the mass they can hardly be ignored. Asia is becoming more and more important every day. What exactly lies behind this process and what are its implications?

At the very fountainhead of this process lies the fact that Asia is the home of ancient cultures. Owing to the rise of industrial civilization and the dominance of industrialized nations, these cultures suffered temporary eclipse. I use the word "temporary" in a widely historical sense, for the eclipse in some cases lasted one to two centuries. As that period is drawing to a close, the mental and spiritual vitality of the Asiatic peoples has begun to assert itself. Whether these nations have yet recuperated enough to play, individually, a major role in international affairs may be debatable. But it is clear to all thoughtful people that about two out of every three important decisions taken by the United Nations could not have been taken

Liaquat Ali Khan **has been Prime Minister of Pakistan since the birth of the new nation in 1947. The experience which served his country so well in the difficult period following partition came from many years of political and administrative leadership in the Muslim League. Today, this outstanding statesman is building his nation into a strong, independent and democratic force in Asia.**

without taking into account the political, social or economic situation in some part of this vast continent.

Two facts epitomize the scene in Asia. First, resurgent nationalism and its twin, cultural revival. Second, the extreme poverty and backwardness of the people. Every crisis and attitude and every enthusiasm or unhappiness that comes to the surface in Asiatic countries can be diagnosed in terms of these two in varying proportions.

For obvious reasons I hesitate to speak with any authority about any other Asiatic country but I could, perhaps, illustrate my remarks by a few observations on Pakistan, as *the* part of the world with which I am most familiar.

Take the very fact of Pakistan's emergence on the map of Asia. The demand of one hundred million Muslims that Pakistan be carved out of British India as a separate sovereign state was, if you like, a cultural assertion on the part of the Muslims of British India or, in other words, a strong belief in their own way of life and a passionate desire to preserve it from the domination of an alien culture.

The majority of people in Pakistan are Muslims. They are the inheritors of a faith and civilization which is more than 1300 years old and which has, through the centuries, faced many vicissitudes. There are millions of people whose ancestors, for many generations past, have never thought in any but Islamic terms and have drawn inspiration from this faith whether in the ordering of private life or in the conduct of public affairs. There is great enthusiasm for testing this faith once more in order to promote human welfare and to apply its moral, political and economic code creatively to a new and challenging situation.

To the extent to which their cultural pattern coincides with the Western ideas of liberty or democracy, to that extent the Muslims do not have to be asked whether they subscribe to the latter or not. In fact, to put them this question would be, from their point of view, interrogation in the reverse direction.

And because of the backwardness bequeathed to it by years of foreign rule, the people of Pakistan are on the one hand determined to make up for the loss of centuries in the shortest possible time, and on the other, as far as lies in their power, to be the jealous guardians of peace in order to promote their national development in a suitable context and a healthy climate. Viewed thus, peace and prosperity begin to acquire a meaning and an import which the more advanced nations of the world cannot realize except by the exercise of a great deal of imaginative sympathy.

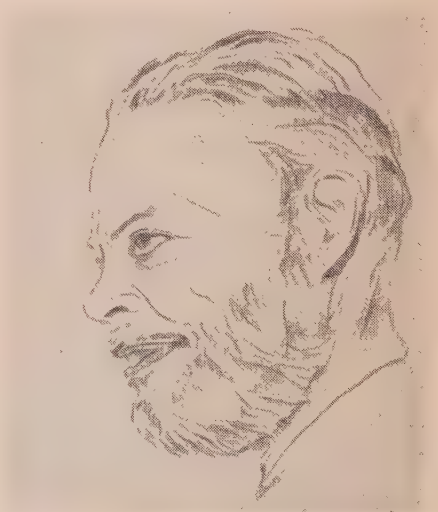
It is therefore only in terms of the history and the civilization of the Asiatic peoples that one can truly appreciate their attitude in the United Nations to such questions as colonialism, self-government, self-determination and even technical assistance. It is also with the help of these points of reference that one should interpret their lack of fanaticism in questions involving ideological conflicts. Such conflicts do not find them apparently as deeply involved as some other nations because they, whether optimistically or not, rely on a moral ballast of their own. Earnestly though they desire peace, they are less likely to wish to destroy it by nervous fumbling, and by the same token, they are unlikely to sit with folded hands if events threaten their national existence or their cultural freedom.

The great powers of the world would do well to ponder over this situation. It is brand new. It would be a grievous mistake to treat it as though it were one of which the colonial powers and their secretariat experts had long experience. I say this because every now and then in diplomatic and strategic circles the question is seriously asked whether this or that Asiatic people would be more amenable to force or to kindness.

Both these concepts need to be abolished forthwith, for they have become obsolete. They belong to an epoch which so far as Asia is concerned is over and will not return in the foreseeable future. In their place, one should substitute understanding.

Understanding is not a matter of discovering and collecting "facts." It is rather the process of living in one's imagination, through the inner experiences of the peoples of Asia; reconstructing in one's mind the years of exploitation through which they have passed, the burden of unpleasant and onerous legacies, the exhilaration of newly won freedom, the new pulsation of ancient faiths, the earnest desire to build up their civilizations in peace, but not in isolation.

Peace and international cooperation are phrases that are sometimes used to cover activities that do not quite deserve these names. But we in Asia, by and large—and I can speak with confidence of Pakistan if of no other country—mean it passionately when we declare that we strive for them. In no less than this sense do we stand by the aims of the Charter, and wish the United Nations all success.



Drawing by Berké

Sir M. Zafrullah Khan,

Pakistan's very popular Minister for Foreign and Commonwealth Relations is a lawyer with many years' experience in both national and international politics. Before his country won its independence he had represented India at various international conferences, had been a judge of the Federal Court of India and had served as Indian Agent-General to China.

THE ISLAMIA COLLEGE MOSQUE IN PESHAWAR

The Land of the Pure

By THE EDITORS

"LAND OF THE PURE" is the meaning in the Urdu language of the noun, Pakistan, which also happens to be composed of the initial letters of most of the Moslem areas (including a K for disputed Kashmir) south of the Himalayas. The nation is three years old. The name is only 17 years old. And the Urdu language itself is one of the world's new languages, a blend of Arabic, Turki and Persian with the Saurseni and other dialects of Hindu India, written in Persian script.

The components of Pakistan are very old; but the combinations are very new. The undaunted idealism of this new country blows into the modern world in a way that recalls the fresh wind that swept the 7th Century with the original Islam of Mahomet. People who value heroic virility will like Pakistan. Ernest Hemingway would probably like Pakistan. People who do not like Hemingway's novels may dislike Pakistan.

One Western writer visiting Pakistan brought back an impression of a crew of 16-year-olds suddenly taking over the business and government of a great nation. Whatever the impression, the men of Pakistan have successfully created a whole nation out of two divided segments of a former nation: Bengal at the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra Rivers and West Pakistan along the basin of the River Indus. Some 80,000,000 people are eating well and exporting surplus food. The budget of Pakistan, which runs about one fifth the size of India's, is balanced. The currency is firm and has not been devalued. The railroads run on time. There is a favorable balance of trade. The people are rediscovering their past and discovering their own great talents for self-expression. And events are showing them they had pitched their hopes a bit too low.

Hindu India freed itself of one master, the British. Pakistan freed itself of two masters, the British and the Hindus. Thus the Pakistani now feel more than twice as free as the Hindus or anybody else in the world.

Without an understanding of this, it is impossible to see what is happening in Pakistan. Pakistan does somehow resemble a college town on the eve of the Big Game. The expressions of self-confidence, determination and derring-do are much the same.

The Punjabi partiality for a fight may have antagonized Hindu India but in fact the world is the better for putting the powers of the Pakistani to the sober business of building a nation. Indeed Pakistan has grown so sober that it is now more reasonable than India in its claims to Kashmir which is as Moslem and pro-Pakistan as Pakistan itself is. Pakistan's case for Kashmir is as simple as a child's: Kashmir is its brother. India's case is more subtle and political, goes back a thousand years and is perhaps tied in with Nehru's childhood in Kashmir.

Since Pakistan is less a nationalist than a religious community, being united by religion rather than geography, it is conceivable that it may elevate the whole Islamic world to a responsible unity it has conspicuously lacked for a long time. It has so far emphasized the idealistic, tolerant and even semi-Socialist aspects of Islam, as a guide to government. Pakistan is of course a one-party state, dominated by the Moslem League and the Punjabi. But there is a formal opposition, running from Moslem extremists and a Hindu minority to Leftists and liberals of influence.

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali has dashed cold water on some of his more fanatical followers by reminding them that non-Moslems have all the rights of Moslems in Pakistan. What is more, the Prime Minister went on, a non-Moslem may even be Prime Minister one day. In short, it has been decided that Pakistan will not be a theocratic state. No constitution as yet exists, but it will probably take a form something like the US Constitution.

Pakistan, like the rest of Islam, has three great religious occasions every year. This year (for the Moslem calendar is lunar and varies from year to year), July 16 was the festival of Id-ul-Fitr ending the fasting month of Ramazan. On this day there are congregational prayers, a general embracing and the eating of a spaghetti soaked in sugar and cream. September 23 was Id-ul-Zuha, commemorating Abraham's intended sacrifice of his son and requiring, when possible, the killing of a camel, sheep, goat or calf (two thirds of the meat must be given to the poor). October 13 was Moharram or New Year's Day, which is also a time of mourning for the death of Mahomet's grandson, Husain, in the battle of Karbala in Iraq.

The People of Pakistan

A large proportion of the Pakistani are skilled in the manufacture and use of rifles. The allegiance of some of them is claimed by the Afghans to the northwest, who have lately been reported as supporting small wars along the frontier, thus putting the Pakistani further on their mettle, as if that were needed. The Punjabi is entirely Aryan, bearded, black-eyed and speaks Punjabi. The Pathan is fairer, taller and heavier and speaks Pushtu, the language of Afghanistan. The Baluchi is slight and wiry with an oval face and long oiled curls. The original Sindhi are tall, dark and muscular. The Arab Sindhi, descended from an Arab conquest of 712 A.D., are fair and long-nosed. The Bengali in the east, of mixed Mongoloid and Dravidian descent, are smaller and slighter than the people of West Pakistan and speak Bengali. But all of them understand the language of Urdu and 80% of them are Moslems.

The most difficult of these peoples in the past have been the Pathans who have a passion for sniping and kidnapping and never permitted the British to introduce schools. But as part of Pakistan, the Pathans have accepted schools and cut down on the sniping and kidnapping. They have been at the bottom of much of the trouble in Kashmir, but the Pakistan Government has had fair success in controlling them.

Pakistan does one thing at a time. Right now it proposes to control the processing of the raw materials it produces, such as jute, cotton, wool, hides and skins and fruits. It has no present ambitions to build a complete industrial civilization overnight.

Because Pakistan has an 80% world monopoly of jute production, it is one of the few countries in the world with a favorable balance of trade. Jute provides 75% of Pakistan's exports by value and it all comes from East Bengal. Today most of it goes to India for processing into burlap bags.

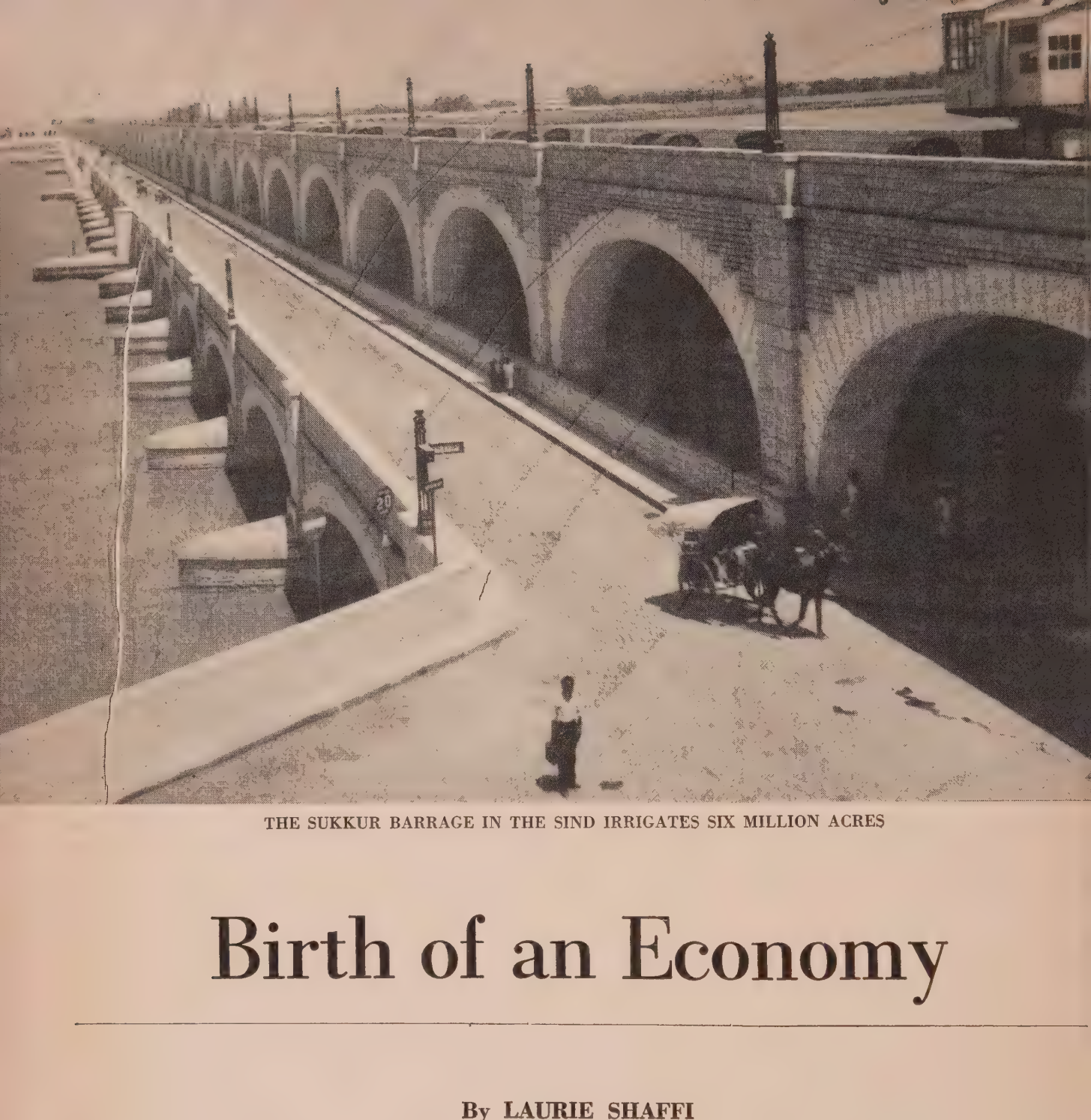
Wool production, including overland imports, comes to 26 million pounds a year and goes to make carpets. The animal population is 8 million goats, 5 million sheep, 5 million buffalo and 20 million cattle. (Surprisingly, a buffalo gives more milk than a cow.)

The fruits of West Pakistan are said to make the best fruit drinks in the world, notably orange and lemon squash. About a quarter of it is preserved as "sharbats," pickles, jams and chutney and also by more modern canning methods recently introduced. The Northwest Frontier Province yields much the same fruits as California. Pakistan's variety includes pineapples and "the world's best bananas" from Bengal, Sylhet oranges, Sind grapefruit, grapes, apples, cherries, apricots and muskmelons from Baluchistan, dates from the coast, West Punjab mangoes, lemons, sweet limes and "Malta" oranges.

The resources required for eventual industrialization are by no means lacking, but they are mostly undeveloped. Preliminary surveys have shown that the land contains oil, coal, iron, gold, copper, sulphur, gypsum, mica, as well as the world's second largest chromite deposits and largest salt deposits. The most important of the undeveloped resources is probably oil which has been discovered in West and East Pakistan in small but promising quantities.

It must be clear that Pakistan is armed with both the wealth of the world and of the spirit. It has avoided the blind alley of the theocratic state, which might have perverted its idealism into bigotry. Against severe temptations, it has kept the magic of tolerance and the open mind. So long as it continues in this way it has an opportunity for the leadership of the Islamic world, and even to set a moral example for the whole confused 20th Century world, which has felt some of the darkness of the 7th Century.

In terms of its ultimate potentialities, Pakistan has hardly begun to move. If it keeps its head, it is simply impossible to guess how far it will go.



THE SUKKUR BARRAGE IN THE SIND IRRIGATES SIX MILLION ACRES

Birth of an Economy

By **LAURIE SHAFFI**
Consul General of Pakistan in New York

PAKISTAN, unlike Ancient Gaul, is divided into only two parts, Western and Eastern Pakistan, which perch rather like epaulettes on the shoulders of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The peoples of both areas are predominantly Muslims, and although they are separated by over a thousand miles of foreign territory, they share a common culture.

The total area of Pakistan is about 364,000 square miles. Of this, Western Pakistan occupies about 85 per cent and Eastern Pakistan about 15 per cent. With a total population of 82,000,000, Pakistan is numerically the fifth largest nation in the world. East Pakistan supports the heaviest concentration of population, 57.7 per cent of the total, on an area less than one sixth of the whole of Pakistan. Eastern Pakistan is one of the most densely peopled areas of the globe with an average density of 879 persons crowded into the square mile.

In August, 1947, Pakistan began its existence faced with problems of such magnitude as to tax to the utmost even the most experienced administration. Yet this newborn Government, the ink of its birth certificate hardly dry, was immediately burdened with one of the greatest mass movements of population in the world's history. Seven million Muslim refugees began to pour into Pak

istan from all parts of the Indian Republic. The great majority of these refugees arrived completely destitute, in need of shelter, food and medical attention. Simultaneously with this gigantic influx, 5,250,000 Hindus left Pakistan; from their ranks had come the bankers, manufacturers, shopkeepers and traders of Pakistan's territories. The situation was a challenge to every Pakistani. History has shown before that the darkest days of a nation's existence have proved to be its finest hour. A nation founded on less solid foundations could not have withstood this gigantic upheaval so early in its history.

Food Surplus

Under normal conditions, Pakistan is fortunate indeed in having more than enough food grains for its own internal consumption and generally has a surplus available for export. The total area under cultivation in Pakistan is about 54 million acres, of which some 43 million acres are devoted to food grains. Rice is the principal food crop and accounts for more than half of the crop acreage, while wheat is cultivated on roughly one quarter of the arable land. Ninety per cent of the rice is grown in Eastern Pakistan, where the inhabitants are rice eaters. On the other hand all of the wheat is cultivated in Western Pakistan, consequently wheat is the staple diet. Other food grains include gram, millet, corn and barley.

Industrial Deficit

At the time of partition Pakistan faced an anomalous situation; for although enviably rich in natural resources, the country was woefully under-equipped industrially for the processing of those resources into finished products. Although Pakistan is the world's largest producer of raw jute, there were no jute mills. Despite the production of vast quantities of cotton, wool, hides and skins, etc., textile mills and tanneries were comparatively few, for the bulk of these had fallen to the lot of the Republic of India at partition. This was a situation which could not be countenanced for long.

With the object of obtaining a more equitable balance between agriculture and industry, the Government of Pakistan early in 1948 drew up a five-year Development Program. This program involved the preparation of over 100 separate schemes and visualized an outlay equivalent to some 336 million dollars.

In view of the predominantly rural economy of Pakistan, the Development Program places initial emphasis upon industrialization around the agricultural products and on the promotion of medium and small scale industries. Pakistan is, therefore, seeking in the first place to manufacture the products of its raw materials for which there is an assured market both at home and abroad. Some of the heavier industries will have to wait for a later stage of the industrial program.

For the furtherance of this industrial scheme, capital investment, both domestic and foreign, has been invited. The technical advice of foreign experts has also been sought and widely utilized. The foreign investor is, among other guarantees, assured that he may remit a reasonable proportion of his profits in the currency of his investment. The Central Government's planning is limited to 27 specified industries and with the exception of certain strategic industries, such as munitions manufacture, hydroelectric power and communications, industrial development has been left to private enterprise.

Now let us see what progress Pakistan has made to date toward the ultimate goal of achieving balance between agriculture and industry:

Jute industry. Three jute mills have been built and will come into production shortly. Five larger jute mills of 1000 looms each are being planned or are already under construction. The first of these will be in full operation by the middle of 1951 and two more are expected to be working in 1952. These three large mills will consume about 800,000 bales of raw jute each year, which is roughly one eighth of the country's total production. Working in shifts, these mills will produce 130,000 tons of jute goods a year. Pakistan's yearly consumption being about 49,000 tons of jute goods, there will therefore be an annual exportable surplus of approximately 81,000 tons of jute goods.

Cotton textile industry. A target has been set for the establishment of 1,000,000 spindles by 1952 and a further 1,500,000 spindles by 1957. Four new mills with a total spindleage of 102,000 have already started operations and a further six mills with a total of 84,400 spindles are under construction.

Woollen industry. The proposed five year target for the woollen industry is 24,000 woollen and 20,000 worsted spindles together with 10 Finishing Units, 5 Hosiery Mills and 5 Carpet Manufacturing Mills. One new mill of 1000 worsted spindles is now in production and another of 3000 spindles under construction.

Paper industry. The erection of a paper mill in East Bengal, Eastern Pakistan, with a capacity of 100 tons of finished paper per day is well advanced beyond the blueprint stage.

Sugar industry. A newly constructed factory, the largest in all Asia, with an annual capacity of 50,000 tons is already in operation and two distilleries for the manufacture of industrial alcohol are planned in conjunction with it.

Tanning industry. The target for the next 5 to 10 years is 45 mechanized tanneries. Of these, 21 large and small tanneries have been established to date.

Hydro-electric power. Present output of power which is about 69,074 Kilowatts is to be increased to 500,000 Kilowatts by 1952.

Among other industries which are being developed considerably are Iron and Steel, Cement, Coal and Petroleum, Chemicals, Salt, Soap, Cosmetics, Printing, Rubber and Heavy and Light Engineering. Considerable expenditure has been allocated to the development of the Port of Chittagong, the capacity of which has been increased more than three-fold since partition.

Balanced Budgets

The inherent strength of Pakistan's economy and financial struc-

Birth of an Economy *continued*

ture is nowhere better reflected than in the Budgets of the Central Government. Three successive surplus budgets have been presented incorporating substantial provisions for agricultural and industrial development, as well as grants for overseas scholarships and for the educational and economic uplift of the people. Liberal pay concessions to lowpaid staff and adequate measures for the strengthening of the defences of the country against external aggression have also been included. At the same time substantial relief in taxation has been allowed!

All industrial undertakings using power and employing more than 50 people have been exempted during the first five years from all direct taxation on so much of their profits as do not exceed 5 per cent of the capital employed. Similarly, special depreciation allowances on buildings and machinery have been made for a period of five years. Import duties on machinery, apparatus and appliances, and on a number of raw materials used by industries, have been reduced or abolished. As a further concession to industries, the super tax rate has been reduced. In respect of sales tax, the exemption list has been enlarged to include most articles of primary consumption, notably food grains, fresh milk, vegetables, meat and fish.

The political circumstances prevailing during these first three years have placed a heavy strain on the Exchequer for unavoidable defense expenditures, but side by side, capital expenditure on development has also been progressively increased as is evidenced by the following figures:

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR CAPITAL EXPENDITURES ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

(IN RUPEES)

1947–48	58,513,000
1948–49	94,187,000
1949–50	129,890,000
1950–51	253,447,000

Investment by the public in Government loans and Savings Schemes is a certain index not only of the financial stability of the Government but also of the public's belief in that stability. Three Government loans, totalling 850,000,000 rupees, have so far been successfully floated, meeting with immediate public response.

Strong Currency

Further evidence of the inherent soundness of Pakistan's economic structure is to be found in the decision not to alter the par value of the Pakistan rupee, which is approximately 30¢ in terms of the United States dollar. This decision was taken by the Government after very careful consideration of the economic factors involved. The wisdom of it has been proved by subsequent events and acknowledged by financial experts the world over. Briefly, two basic considerations decided Pakistan's position. (1) Pakistan, with a surplus food position and the current world-wide demand for its exports, enjoyed a favourable balance of trade with both dollar and sterling areas. These exports, consisting primarily of raw materials, do not admit of any appreciable expansion. This factor, together with the favourable balance of payments position, rendered devaluation unnecessary for Pakistan. (2) Since the cost of imports of industrial machinery and equipment, from the United States especially, would have risen immediately, Pakistan's program for industrialization would have been seriously impeded by any devaluation move.

The foregoing is only a brief sketch of the progress made to date in the building up of the young nation of Pakistan. Steady progress has been and will be maintained but in a world of unrest, Pakistan, like most other nations, has to cope with innumerable problems. Eastern Pakistan is still in the throes of the refugee problem. For into that area, in February 1950, streamed over one million destitute Muslims, fleeing from a communal uprising of intense ferocity which flared up in the Calcutta district of the Republic of India. These refugees are being fed and housed in a number of camps throughout East Bengal and their maintenance still constitutes a heavy drain on the nation's economy. As industries develop many of these unfortunate people will find gainful and permanent employment.

It will take time before all these uprooted people can be absorbed into the life and economy of Pakistan. Meanwhile, the road toward the goal of economic self-sufficiency in Pakistan has been well laid and clearly signposted and a united nation is confidently striding toward the achievement of that end.

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The First Friend

By M.A.H. ISPAHANI
Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States

PAKISTAN came into being as an independent sovereign State on August 15, 1947. The Embassy of Pakistan in the US was opened on the same day I arrived here as the first Ambassador of Pakistan on September 11, and presented my credentials to the President on October 8, 1947. I am recalling these dates to underline the fact that the US was the first country with which Pakistan exchanged Ambassadors.

This spirit of goodwill which marked US-Pakistan relations from their inception has grown steadily during the three years of Pakistan's existence. A historic landmark in the growth of Pakistan-US relations was provided by the visit of Pakistan's Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, to this country as the guest of President Truman. What he saw, during his extensive, though hurried, trip from coast to coast, of the United States and of the American way of life, and what he told the thousands he met about our way of life and our pursuit of similar values give his sojourn in this country its greatest significance.

In the modern age, however, the concept of international relations has gone beyond the scope of purely inter-governmental exchanges. Unfortunately it is yet no more than a concept and a tendency, and policies of governments continue to be the principal determinant of the nature of relations between two countries. The new concept is essentially the result of the growth of the democratic system in the field of government. As the democratic system approaches the goal of becoming universal, the new concept of international relations will grow.

As between people and people, Pakistan-US relations have had an auspicious start. Certain inherent similarities born of the pursuit of certain common ideals make mutual understanding easy. The principles of individual liberty and human dignity which the leaders of the American revolution believed in as part of their political philosophy are cherished by Pakistanis as precepts of their religion. Man, their religion tells them, is the lord of all creation and he owes submission to no one (including all other human beings) except the Creator. In some countries where the social order was characterized by man-made differences between human beings, freedom has had the effect of making people suspicious and sometimes aggressive towards foreigners. In Pakistan, the people's consciousness of their freedom finds expression in uninhibited friendliness towards people from friendly countries who take an interest in their affairs and problems. As a result Americans who have had occasion to spend some time in Pakistan have become staunch friends.

Relations between Pakistan and the US go further than mutual esteem and friendship. Pakistan looks to the United States for learning and acquiring skills in the technique of modern living with its large-scale utilization of scientific progress. Similarly, I hope there is appreciation in the United States of Pakistan's support of the democratic way of life not only as an ideology but through actual implementation of it in the lives of the people. Since the inception of Pakistan, there has been a two-way flow of trade between the two countries, the volume of which has recorded a marked increase. With the unfolding of Pakistan's plans for industrial development, trade is likely to increase further.

Cultural Ties

Moreover, scores of Pakistani students are coming to the universities and other educational institutions of the United States to specialize in various branches of technology. Under a recent agreement, American scholars will be financed to pursue studies and research projects in approved institutions of higher learning in Pakistan.

Asia is looking forward to the implementation of President Truman's Point Four program. The funds so far provided for the ambitious program are in my opinion totally inadequate. It is however hoped that a start will soon be made and the program will be followed up with more adequate provisions. Besides technical aid, countries like Pakistan stand in need of foreign private capital investment. The climate for such investments in Pakistan is salutary and wholesome. We have, so far, gone ahead entirely under our own steam but as it is our desire to accelerate our progress, we seek the cooperation of countries like the United States in building a better balanced economy and in raising the standard of living of our people.

I have every hope that such cooperation will be forthcoming. The way in which Pakistan-US relations have developed in the past three years makes the future full of promise.

Beyond Khyber

By ANDREW A. FREEMAN

Former New York Post Correspondent in Asia

ROAD TO THE PASS IS HEWN OUT OF FORBIDDING DESOLATE ROCKS

AMONG the numerous problems three-year-old Pakistan must solve, none is more irritating and more potentially explosive than that presented by the Northwest Frontier Province and its Tribal Area. During the hundred years Britain patrolled that desolate tangle of gray mountains and desert valleys bordering on Afghanistan, Soviet Russia, Sinkiang and the disputed province of Kashmir, it found no solution. And India which begrudged every inch of territory it had to give during partition, was relieved to be rid of a land where over two million Moslem tribesmen live by the law of knife and gun, weapons as commonplace to them as umbrellas to Englishmen.

Trouble was traditional in the Northwest Frontier long before the British came. Through its passes—principally the Khyber, the Gomal, and the Tochi—poured the Aryan hordes driving the Indian aborigines southward. Later came the armies of the Tartars and the Mongols to plunder a rich and civilized people.

The origin of the Pathans who inhabit the tribal belt is not accurately known. Tall, wiry, and dignified, these bearded hillsmen often display Aryan features intermingled with Jewish traits. In that connection, Mohammed Yunus, a Pathan authority, tells that when the Moslem armies reached northern India at the end of the seventh century A.D., Khalid, a Jewish convert to the faith of the Prophet Mohammed, invited the Pathans to follow his example. As a result, a party of elders led by Kais, a chieftain who claimed descent from King Saul, went to Mecca and embraced Islam. In honor of that occasion, Khalid gave his daughter in marriage to Kais.

"This legendary matrimonial alliance," says Yunus, "is particularly known to the Pathans. . . . Recent researches have made it fairly clear that there has been some sort of Jewish association in the past. We are told that when Nadir Shah in-

vaded India in 1739 . . . the local chiefs [at Peshawar] are reported to have presented him with certain gifts which included an old Bible written in Hebrew and a few other things that were recognized as old articles of Jewish worship. These things must have come down to them from their ancestors. . . ."

Under British rule, the Tribal Belt was not a part of the Northwest Frontier Province. The latter consisted of the so-called Settled Areas in the plains with a population of 3,000,000. It was ruled by a governor and a popular ministry in Peshawar, ten miles from the Khyber Pass over which tides of trade and culture from China and Turkestan and from Greece, Babylon, and the Near East have ebbed and flowed for two thousand years.

Unlike the Settled Areas, the territory of the tribesmen was administered by the central government at Delhi which spent millions to maintain a police force and to subsidize and bribe the chieftains, or maliks, to keep the peace, at least along the main roads. That situation existed not because the Pathans were at odds with the British, but because of blood feuds among themselves, raids upon their richer neighbors in the plains, kidnapping for ransom and other criminal acts obviously dictated by poverty.

Such was the inheritance of Pakistan. No sooner had the province become a part of that country than trouble began. Restless because of the departure of the British and fearful that they would lose the subsidies which had been their only source of income, tribal chieftains, in the summer of 1947, led their cohorts into the rich Vale of Kashmir, looting and murdering. Apparently unable to stop the invasion, newly appointed Pakistan district officials are reported to have encouraged the tribesmen while excited nationalists provided the raiders with food, gasoline, and other equipment.

At the request of the Maharaja of Kashmir, India called out its army to protect the Kashmiris and within a few weeks was involved with Pakistan in a full-scale shooting war. The fighting forces of both sides still face each other in Kashmir while efforts of the United Nations to persuade them to come to terms, remain fruitless. Each has agreed to a plebiscite but Pakistan's terms call for the withdrawal of the Indian army which India refuses to meet unless Pakistan withdraws her fighters. Some observers believe, however, that an official order from Pakistan to evacuate Kashmir would be ignored by the tribesmen. Such belief is based upon the fact that the Pathan does not regard all men equal because they are Moslems. He has been known to hate Punjabi Moslems as much as he does Hindus.

I first met those tough individualists when they fired their rifles at Nehru who came to them in October 1946 with a message of brotherly love and a promise to help make their land produce more food, provide schools, co-operative industries, and other forms of civilized assistance. Phillips Talbot, of the *Chicago Daily News,* and I joined the Nehru party at Miramshah, Waziristan, traveling in a car provided by the commander of the British troops in Peshawar where, incidentally, tribesmen were required to check their rifles before entering the city.

A half hour's drive from Peshawar we reached a blockhouse on whose stone wall was a sign bearing this matter-of-fact announcement:

TRIBAL AREA
Go Carefully—Winding Road

Two armed policemen waved us on and we were in the Land of the Pathan. Despite their rifles and bandoleers strung with cartridges, the people we passed on foot, on bicycle, camel, and donkey seemed friendly. Formidable, however, were their fortified villages and the rocky cliffs and glens where occasionally we saw a peasant guiding a primitive plow drawn by oxen across the barren soil on which he was able to grow food sufficient only for four months' existence. On the precipice above the

THE VILLAGE of Landi Kotal is the location of this primitive open air market place for the tribes of the district

plowman, a man stood guard, rifle in hand.

At Bannu, Talbot and I were put into a ramshackle bus with a half dozen armed men and started for Miramshah followed by our car in which rode two other guards. The British political agent accompanying us thought it was safer that we be in the bus. Less temptation, he explained, to those who might consider kidnapping us for ransom.

The next day, because we were the first American newspapermen to visit that region, we were guests of honor at a luncheon given by Barkat Shah, malik of the village of Darpa Khel, eight miles from the fort. Barkat Shah was a personage. He had a contract to carry the mail. He owned a flour mill and received a subsidy from the political agent to grind the wheat the government doled out. In fact, according to tribal standards. he was wealthy. He could speak only Pushto, the language of the Pathans, and was illiterate but when he heard that we were expected at the fort, he gave orders to kill three sheep and twelve chickens.

He came in one of his trucks bringing twenty fierce-looking armed men as a protection in the event hostile neighbors saw fit to take a few shots at us. He and his guards shook our hands instead of salaaming. From the moment I met Barkat Shah I felt I had known him for a long time. Although he was in his sixties there were only a few stray gray hairs in his black beard. He must have been a shrewd operator and a skilled bargainer to have been so successful at making money, but he did not have the wary way of the shopkeeper. He still seemed the hillsman, his black eyes sharp from sighting along a rifle barrel.

The truck stopped beside a crudely irrigated field, across which was the entrance to the village. Its walls were at least ten feet high with battlements throughout their length. In the center of the village was a watch tower from which a guard could command the countryside.

We were escorted through the patio of Barkat Shah's house where another score of armed men lounged, before we were brought into the dining room. On the table were the choicest parts of the roasted carcasses of sheep and chickens, swelling bowls of saffron rice, pilau, curries, and chapatties. No silver gleamed amidst this mighty show of viands, no napkins. The rice, particularly the pilau which had a greasy consistency, was hard to put into the mouth with a scoop made of four tightly compressed fingers of the right hand. Whenever the food on our plates showed signs of being consumed more food was heaped on them. Failure to eat all that was offered was an offense against the host and throughout the meal I wondered which would be the better course: to consume all that was passed my way and be carried out in a coma, or to run the risk of violating the local laws of hospitality. After gorging ourselves we retired to another room for fruit and tea and to watch the village clown perform. As we were seated the men who had been in the patio entered the dining room and attacked the food, and when they had consumed all they could eat, the women ate the rest.

When we finished the tea, Barkat Shah arose and from the way he talked I knew his remarks were addressed to us. The deep rich sounds of the words fitted the virile character of the speaker and I later learned that Pushto, whose roots are from the Persian, contains many classical works of poetry. As Barkat Shah concluded his talk he drew from his waist a silver dagger, turned its hilt in my direction and presented it to me. It was a token of friendship for us—done so graciously and so unostentatiously that I was at a loss to respond but did so as best I could, being deeply moved by the tribute.

The next day these men, who had treated us with Biblical dignity and gallantry, were downright rude and insulting to Nehru, whose car when he left Miramshah was fired upon, fortunately without damage to him and its other occupants.

Thousands of Wrestlers

THE world's champion heavyweight wrestler is Gama, descendant of champions, now 79, who won the championship in London in 1920 from Zybysko. In a re-match eight years later Gama threw Zybysko in two seconds and a half.

The present Rustom-i-Pakistan or Champion of Pakistan is Gama's nephew, Bholu, now 26, undefeated in ten years without ever having taken more than fifteen minutes to throw his opponent. Bholu has challenged the wrestlers of the world to meet him in Lahore for a revived championship of the world, or to invite him abroad.

A strong probability is that the top dozen of the world's wrestlers are all Pakistani. Lahore alone has over 600 *akharas* or gymnasiums training ten thousand young wrestlers. Their traditions go back to Sohrab and Rustom, the mythical wrestling champions of Iran and Turan, and to the Prophet's nephew and son-in-law Hazrat Ali, whom they invoke on entering the arena by crying "Ya Ali." Apprentices begin at the age of six.

Pakistan wrestling forbids boxing, bone-twisting, scratching, pulling or biting, unlike the catch-as-catch-can or all-in wrestling of the West. A wrestler is a public figure of great dignity. The Pakistan press will describe a diplomatic mission accompanied by "a wrestler of repute." His supporters shower him with money when he leaves the ring after a victory. The great wrestling families are of Kashmir stock which settled over 200 years ago in the West Punjab, in the cities of Lahore, Amritsar and Gujranwala.

3 Surprises of Sialkot

By BEGUM SAIDA ISA

Former Editor, Onward, *Delhi,*
Author of "A Nation Betrayed"

IN AN overwhelmingly agricultural economy, the small city of Sialkot just inside the borders of Pakistan produces three superb specialties more usually associated with highly developed civilizations. All three are usually among the very last ornaments of industrialization, rather than the very first. And yet all three have evolved out of the traditional character, at once virile and aesthetic, of Moslem Pakistan.

The sword has been the familiar friend of the men of Pakistan for thousands of years. So it is perhaps not entirely miraculous that they should have turned their metal-working skills to the manufacture of surgical instruments. The Sialkot scalpels and forceps, probes and surgical scissors, are standard equipment from Burma to Egypt and Turkey. Of fifteen large firms all but two are in Sialkot, the largest, A. F. Ahmed, having pioneered in the use of stainless steel. Ghulam Nabi at Lahore also makes hospital apparatus and aseptic hospital furniture. During World War II, when the mass killing had exhausted all other sources of medical equipment, Sialkot came to the rescue. The value of its production during the war years went over a million dollars.

Equally unexpected is Sialkot's active competition in the world market for sporting goods in successful challenge to the great British and US firms. Tennis racquets, hockey sticks, volley balls, Rugby balls, badminton battledores and shuttlecocks, cricket bats, balls and guards, polo sticks, polo balls, tennis gut, fishing rods and landing nets are exported to, for example, Great Britain at the rate of $70,000 a year. The Sialkot products are excellently made but a good deal cheaper than the luxury wares of Western firms.

The Punjabi have a long tradition of working with leather and wood and they are famous sportsmen. Most of the Sialkot sticks are made of white and yellow mulberry, found only in the Northwest Frontier Province and the states of Swat, Dir and Chitral. The leathers of competing India suffer from the disability that the Hindus must wait for a cow to die before skinning it, their religion forbidding them to kill it. These Hindu leathers come from what are called "fallen" hides as contrasted to the better "slaughter" hides of Pakistan. Pakistan has also the essentials for tanning: lime, salt, fish oil, vegetable oil, mangrove bark and babul bark, the latter two substitutes for myrabolams and avaram bark formerly imported from India.

Finally, Sialkot makes musical instruments. Pre-Moslem Indian music was melodic or tonal, but the 13th Century Arab musicians revolutionized it with harmony. The musical instruments of India came from Arabia, as did the words denoting them: thus *mizrab* for plectrum, *tabla* for a percussion instrument, *tamboor* for a drone instrument, the *qanoon, rabab* and *tarab.* The most popular stringed instrument, the *sitar,* was invented by the Muslim poet, Amir Khusro. Muslim musicians are the masters of the art in all the sub-continent and Sialkot still makes their instruments. Famous music schools are situated in Lahore and Dacca in Pakistan.

Pakistan has many great unsolved problems but at least in the making of *sitars,* shuttlecocks and scalpels it is the peer of any nation on earth. It will never be without its songs, its games or the tools with which to mend its wounded.

COVETED by Western sportsmen are the superbly balanced and finished racquets, sticks, balls, shuttlecocks from Sialkot

Crisis Literature

By MOHAMMAD ANWAR
Information Officer,
Pakistan Delegation to the UN

PAKISTAN appeared on the geographical map of the world only three years ago. In the realm of art, literature and culture, however, Pakistan and its people constitute the climax of many centuries of artistic and literary achievements.

In the course of a short article, it is not possible to attempt even a casual survey of the cultural life of the sub-continent of India during the period of the Indus civilization, about 2500–1500 B.C., or to review the radical changes it experienced with the coming of Islam to India. Suffice it to say that even Aryan culture was considerably influenced by the contemporary civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. This is clearly shown by the excavations at Mohenjodaro in Sind, at Harappa and Taxilla in the West Punjab, and the relative resemblance of the artifacts to those in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

By the beginning of the tenth century, the outlook on life among the majority of the people of the areas comprising Pakistan was founded on Islamic principles.

It was primarily the Arabic, the Persian and the Turkish achievements which moulded present-day Pakistan culture and literature. It is not surprising that writers, poets and artists produced in Pakistan during the last ten centuries have looked toward their treasured cultural heritage.

The influence of Hali, Ghalib, Mir, Shibli, Sir Syed Ahmed, Ameer Ali and Iqbal (renowned literary figures and poets of Pakistan) on Muslim thought in India is too well known to be repeated. Poetical visions seldom come true, but two decades ago Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of Pakistan, "dreamt" that a logical and unavoidable sequence in the political and intellectual development of the Indian sub-continent was the severance of the Muslim majority areas and the creation of an independent sovereign state. Iqbal expressed his "dreams" publicly in December 1930 in a speech at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League. The poetical "vision," as it was then called, was engineered to reality by a brilliant lawyer and indomitable man of action, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan.

Jinnah's and Iqbal's greatness is unquestioned, but what this historical fact shows is quite unique: the people of Pakistan not only listened to Jinnah and sang Iqbal's songs, but they stirred themselves to action.

To quote from a literary masterpiece or recite verses of a famous poet to drive home a point of view is a universal practice among all peoples of the world. But to commit to memory chapter after chapter of the works of national poets is a distinctive characteristic of Pakistani nationals. It is not at all surprising when one of the passengers in a public bus plying between Lahore and Rawalpindi, to conquer the fatigue of the journey and to amuse his fellow passengers, sings *Hir Ranja*, a classical love story rendered into verse by the famous Punjabi poet Waris Shah. A bus passenger in a western country in similar circumstances would not recite Shakespeare or Wordsworth.

Iqbal's poetry and philosophy are on an entirely different footing. Effortlessly his simpler poems like *Quami Tarana* are learnt by heart by practically every Pakistani. But his serious works call for scholarly attention and there is not a school or college in the country where his poems and philosophy are not a part of the prescribed curriculum. The Pakistan Parliament has sanctioned a special grant for the establishment of an Iqbal Academy whose function it is to organize research on Iqbal works and to popularize them. Iqbal died on April 21, 1938 and his death anniversary is a public holiday in Pakistan. There is not a single town in the whole of the country where special meetings and seminars are not held on that day.

It is beyond the purpose of this article to narrate the greatness of other eminent poets, philosophers, thinkers, writers, and artists which Pakistan has produced.

The first incentive in the initial stages of literary activity was provided by the mass movement of seven millions of refugees into Pakistan immediately after the partition of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent on August 14, 1947. This mass movement of humanity, the biggest in the history of the world, claimed the lives of a million men, women and children. Many books were written in Urdu, Pakistan's national language, depicting the death and misery inflicted on innocent persons.

With the appearance of this literature, some critics thought that the finer instincts of young writers had been vulgarized and only tragedy on the largest scale would impress the reader. These appealed to young writers to desist from making "atrocity stories" the theme of their

works. A compromise has now been reached and works of this type are classed as "crisis literature" so that future generations may understand why overnight Pakistan writers specialized in depicting humanity verging on bestiality.

The excess of "crisis literature" was a dark cloud cast over the literary horizons of Pakistan. But every cloud has a silver lining and in this case the silver lining was the realization that political freedom brought responsibilities of its own. Some writers lost no time in discovering stray incidents of tolerance, courage, sympathy, fellow feeling and kindness. With these they tried to show that humanity was not entirely dead and that it was still capable of rising to moral heights.

Poets also used their imagination in the same strain in the beginning but later on they gave up composing "crisis poems." The historic migration of the followers of the Holy Prophet, Mohammad, from Mecca to Medina was rendered into verses afresh by many poets. Recitation of these poems at refugee camps and public places over the loud speakers brought the migration from Mecca to Medina vividly before their eyes.

Quaid-I-Azam (The Great Leader) Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Father of the Pakistan nation, died on September 11, 1948 and is buried in Karachi. Millions of words both in prose and poetry have been written describing the gloom which was cast over the country by his passing and the stream of mourners who cluster around the grave at all hours of the day and night reading the Qoran.

Most of the Pakistani writers and poets have expressed their thought in Urdu which is the national and official language of Pakistan. There are also regional languages like Bengali in East Bengal, Punjabi in the Punjab, Sindhi in Sind, and Pushto in North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. All these languages and dialects are constantly being enriched by local talents.

Urdu language is by far the richest and most popular. It is extremely comprehensive and in addition to the Arabic alphabet it has a few letters of its own. It has special letters for 'sh', 'th' as pronounced in THE, 'kh' as pronounced in KHYBER and 'ch' as pronounced in CHALK.

The Urdu language has no vowels and the joining of letters is done by three signs called *Zabar, Zair* and *Paish. Zabar* is a short horizontal stroke over the letter intended to be joined with the succeeding one, *Zair* is a similar stroke placed under the letter and *Paish* is a comma placed over the letter. The English word SUN needs 'u' to join S and N, but in Urdu the letters producing the sound of S and N are written together and *Zabar* is added on top where S ends and N begins. Similarly in the word SIN, *Zair* is added below at the spot where the Urdu "S" ends and "N" begins. In the word PUT, if written in Urdu, *Paish* will be placed at the top at the spot where the equivalent of Urdu "P" ends and "T" begins.

Pakistan at its birth was faced with the first stirrings of discontent which might have culminated in a revolution had Jinnah not geared the entire administrative machinery of the country to attend to the refugee resettlement problem. During the crisis phase innumerable slogans, watchwords and shibboleths were coined. Two of these were effective in spurring the nation to demand Pakistan, and these two alone survived. "Pakistan zindabad" (Long Live Pakistan) and "Quaid-I-Azam Zindabad" (Long Live The Great Leader).

To those not acquainted with Pakistan culture it may sound absurd to shout "Long live Jinnah" when Jinnah is dead. Pakistani culture provides an answer. Pakistanis believe that Science Gives Proof Without Certainty but Religion Gives Certainty Without Proof. Pakistanis therefore know that Jinnah, even dead, will help them achieve their goal.

A Prayer

A POEM BY IQBAL

(Translated by G. Ahmad)

Either do not command me to lay down my life for Thee;
Or else infuse new spirit into my decaying bones.
Do this—or that.

Either direct the Brahman to fashion a new god;
Or else Thyself take a privileged place in the heart of his disciples.
Do this—or that.

Either create a new Adam less in the likeness of Satan;
Or else create a new Satan to test afresh the impregnability of knowledge and Belief.
Do this—or that.

Either grant me a new World; or else grant me a new Trial.
(How long wilt Thou hold me under the primaeval curse?)
Do this—or that.

Either grant me Poverty resplendent with the glory of Parvez;
Or else grant me Wisdom reminiscent of the Spirit of Spirit.
Do this—or that.

Either kill the revolutionary urge in my soul:
Or else subvert the pattern of Time and Space.
Do this—or that.

Small Town Makes Good

By MARK BABCOCK
Correspondent in the Middle East

In a land where the history of man and his cities goes back thousands of years, Karachi is an upstart. A little more than a century ago it was a village of mud huts. Today the mud huts have been displaced by more permanent structures but they do not even rate as good architecture. The streets are wider but contain more camel carts than motor-driven trucks. There are parks and other evidences that time has passed since British traders settled there in the hope of making it India's greatest seaport. But those changes are nothing to write home about. It is not a city worthy of being the capital of Pakistan, a nation of 80,000,000 people carved out of India on August 15, 1947 to safeguard, in the words of their leaders, their Moslem faith and tradition from Hindu domination.

Karachi, with a population over 500,000, stands between the Arabian Sea on one side and the Sind Desert on the other and lies on a latitude roughly equivalent to that of Key West in Florida. It is hot and dusty but generally speaking its climate is easier to bear than that of Calcutta or Bombay, both of which outrank Karachi as seaports. As the former capital of the Province of Sind, one of the smallest and poorest in India, Karachi was scarcely able to provide the necessary facilities for its government.

The city does not look like a capital. Its only impressive building is Government House, home of Sind's governor, now the residence of Pakistan's governor-general. It is short of hotels, homes, offices, stores, theaters, restaurants, street cars, and buses. It does not even have a mosque worthy of a place in the history of architecture.

When the partition of India was agreed upon, the announcement by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, that he had chosen Karachi to be his capital, came as a surprise. Until then it was taken for granted that the seat of the new nation would be Lahore, for nine hundred years capital of the Punjab. Where Karachi has no traditions in Islamic culture, Lahore is rich. Actually it entered its most brilliant period after the Moslem conquest in the sixteenth century. The most beautiful of its buildings and monuments date

THE MUSHROOM capital has old carriages, new trolleys, large avenues and a Modern Municipal Corporation Building.

from that period and include the tomb of Jahangir and the famous Shalimar Gardens. Moreover, it is an important educational center.

Karachi had only two months to transform itself into Pakistan's capital. First the Hindus had to get out. Not that they were forced out, for Jinnah had guaranteed the protection of the rights of minorities. Nevertheless, they were realistic enough to know that Pakistan was established mainly to wipe out the old complaint that Hindus were always given preference in jobs. And so they left for India taking with them the wealth they had amassed as owners of most of the businesses.

Not only did Karachi have to house thousands of government employees shipped from New Delhi, but since Pakistan had insisted that every single piece of property owned by the former Government of India should be divided between India and Pakistan, space had to be found for a vast collection of paraphernalia. For weeks the forty thousand members of the staff of the imperial secretariat in New Delhi were kept busy counting typewriters, chairs, tables, desks, duplicating machines, safes, refrigerators, air-cooling equipment, floor carpets, rugs, sofas, pencils, pens, ink pots, writing pads, and hundreds of miscellaneous items of furniture and stationery. Typists worked overtime making duplicates of every single paper in every file. Accountants were busy calculating how much money was due each officer, clerk, office boy, watchman, and sweeper who had expressed a desire to be transferred to the new state.

That division of property created many curious situations not without bickering and accusations. As an example: The Moslem League, the party that had created Pakistan, complained that the typists, most of whom were Hindus, were copying as little as possible so that the Pakistan government might not possess all the files necessary to carry out its administration. Hindu clerks, the League also charged, had not included in their reports the correct number of typewriters and other articles of office equipment so that Pakistan's share might be reduced. The Hindu Congress press accused the Indian government's Minister of Communications, a member of the Moslem League, of having transported every kind of telephone and telegraph equipment he could lay his hands on to Karachi.

Day and night special trains rolled from Delhi carrying government personnel and effects to the new capital. To make room for them, garrison troops were shifted to abandoned wartime camps outside the city while the Sind government took over their barracks. Sweeping requisitioning orders left Indian and foreign residents homeless to provide living room for Pakistan officials. For additional offices, rows of one-story concrete-block houses were built.

During the first week, officials who arrived in Karachi by air worked with secretaries in any shelter they could find. The government public relations director made his office under a tree at the Palace Hotel and wrote his copy with a borrowed pencil. There was some satisfaction in accusing non-Moslems with obstructing shipments when officials could find no duplicating machines on which to issue orders.

Today there is little bickering in Karachi. There is order and the administration is running smoothly. The port is active. The streets are busy. There are more motor cars but the ubiquitous camel still holds up traffic. The green and white crescent and star flag of Pakistan flies above many buildings, but Pakistanis feel a real surge of pride when they see it over the great international airport about ten miles from the city where the world's largest airlines call from all corners of the world.

A new and proud air heard nowadays at both the airport and in Karachi itself is Pakistan's new national anthem, just lately composed by Ahmed G. Ghagla. This has the unique distinction of being, as of this moment, an anthem without any words. It is a composition in the Western musical form, with the cadences of a particularly stately religious hymn.

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This Month's Books-of-the-World

By ATTICUS

It was during a session of the General Assembly the other day that I got to thinking of something I had read concerning the most remarkable and useful of all the raw materials available to Man. Of course, now that we have uranium to make atom bombs, and heavy water for hydrogen bombs, we are inclined to imagine that the ultimate has been attained.

The element I am talking about is somewhat different. It is in the nature, I believe, of what the scientists term a catalyst—which by its mere presence induces material substances to display an enormous and unwonted activity. This particular catalyst is so potent that its application, say, to a desert, can cause grain fields to rise. Wider utilization of its magic might conceivably double or triple our present supply of food, produce shelter and clothing and actual luxury for millions more than those who now inhabit the earth.

You will be outraged to know that this invaluable resource, readily available in all portions of the globe, is at present frequently despised and neglected as if it were a weedy growth.

The absolute decisiveness of its role in relation to our material environment is still but dimly understood. Pretentious pseudo-scholars have at times asserted that abundance for all is threatened by an oversupply. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth, since this great wonder-worker alone is able to multiply the fruits of our planet.

Fortunately the whole constructive program of the United Nations was directed the other way—toward setting the highest value on the great catalyst. That is the meaning behind the effort to create and maintain a peaceful world, and to make it a world in which peoples of all colors, races and creeds shall have equal opportunity to live and to develop their genius and their skills. Who knows where we might be in civilization today if we had not squandered the great catalyst—Man himself—over the centuries?

The Pursuit of Plenty

The book that led me to this train of thought is *The Pursuit of Plenty*, by A. G. Mezerik (Harper, $2.50). The author has a way of cleaning your mind of the fallacies you've clung to for so long. How easily convinced we all have been that the day of "standing room only" on the earth was fast approaching. Mezerik calculates that if all now alive were given one square yard apiece to stand in, they could be fitted into the city of Chicago. Man, he says, is the background resource, "as valuable as the rivers and the fields—and ever so much more desirable than the gold and the diamonds which Man still treasures above all things which he takes from nature's storehouse."

As Mezerik insists, once human intelligence is viewed as the major ingredient in natural resources, the problem is no longer to get rid of Man, but to assure him the means for his fullest development. And that takes us in two directions: first, toward a sharing with all men of the technical knowledge any of them have acquired in their pursuit of plenty, on the land or in industry. Second, toward ensuring to all men everywhere their rights and freedoms as individuals—for human genius has never flowered in the soil of slavery.

The UN Technical Assistance Program, as you know, is devoted to the first objective. On the second, human rights, the UN has already accomplished a vast amount of work. If you want a progress report on this struggle you must read *These Rights and Freedoms* published for the United Nations by Columbia University Press ($1.50).

The UN Charter made human rights one of the goals of the world organization. Since the Charter was written, an effort has been made to define these rights clearly, in the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly. The next step is to embody as many of these rights and freedoms as possible in a world treaty or convention which can have the force of international law.

Perhaps you have never stopped to think about the fact that there is no freedom possible without law.

Long after states had acquired a body of laws safeguarding human rights, barbarism and banditry still existed in the international field. Today that situation is being rapidly changed. Thanks to the UN, genocide—the deliberate extinction of an ethnic group of people—has become an international crime, as have other outrages against the dignity and worth of Man. In *The Law of the United Nations* (Praeger, $18.75), Professor Hans Kelsen, one of the world's top experts, analyzes just what the UN Charter means, and how it may be interpreted in the various organs of the United Nations. His interpretation of the meaning of *"international" peace*, which it is the UN's purpose to maintain, as contrasted with *"internal" peace*, with which the UN presumably is not concerned, is of particular interest today. You may have heard USSR's Malik in the Security Council asserting that the trouble in Korea was a civil war in which the UN had no right to intervene. Pro-

fessor Kelsen maintains that the United Nations *can* intervene, even in a civil war, if it decides that the war threatens world peace.

Crisis in Britain

I suppose no one can intelligently follow the efforts of the United Nations unless he has acquired at least a passing acquaintance with the ways of life, the ideals and intimate goals of its member nations. By way of introducing us to the UN's cast of actors, there is the very readable UNITED NATIONS SERIES published by the University of California Press. Its latest offering is *Crisis in Britain* by Robert Brady, ($5.00), which examines the achievements of the Labour Government, so often under fire both at home and abroad.

We need to know the Asian peoples very much better in order to comprehend the course of events there, with which the United Nations is naturally profoundly concerned. Let me suggest as neat a little package as I know for a start. It is *New Forces in Asia,* compiled by Bruno Lasker (H. W. Wilson Company, $1.75), as Volume 21 of The Reference Shelf. It contains articles on China, Japan, India and Pakistan, Korea, the Philippines, and Southeast Asia, by many authorities.

About Korea

Afterward, we are ready to go on to a little more detailed reading about Asian countries. Korea is uppermost in all our minds. The United Nations has had to deal with other wars and threats of war, but none that will have so important a bearing on the future of the UN itself. The UN emerges from its hand in this conflict with new authority—but also with great responsibility to see that the Korean people, torn asunder by decisions that were none of their own in the aftermath of World War II, may see their country rehabilitated and united as it had been for centuries.

The Fifth General Assembly will have grave decisions to reach on Korea. To help us follow their deliberations, there are two new books that give the Korean historical, cultural and political background. *The Epic of Korea* by A. Wigfall Green (Public Affairs Press, $2.50), provides a short summary, by a writer whose observations began while he was with the American Army in Korea.

Why War Came in Korea by Robert T. Oliver (Fordham University Press, $2.95), delves deeply into the backgrounds of the troubles there, showing them in their relationship to Western diplomacy, to the Communist desire to dominate Asia, to a colonialism now everywhere on the retreat, and to the ferment of discontent, that everywhere has been burgeoning on the Asian Continent.

. . . *and Pakistan*

There are two other new books on Asia that are full of interest right now. One is *Pakistan: The Heart of Asia* by Liaquat Ali Khan (Harvard University Press. $3.00). In it the Prime Minister of Pakistan presents the impressive story of the birth of that new nation. Like the birth of human beings, it was accompanied by much suffering. Yet today the overwhelming problems that beset the leaders who had the responsibility for organizing the political, social and economic life, are forgotten in the joy of consciousness that the Muslims of Pakistan are free to cultivate their own talents and contribute the fruits of their own philosophy and culture to the world.

"We began from scratch," the Prime Minister admits. "In our offices there were few chairs and tables and fewer typewriters. Not many of us were traders—fewer still were bankers and technicians or engineers or doctors." But he describes the Muslims as devoted to the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice. Beyond their own borders they stand for the stability of Asia, he insists. "The belief is growing in our minds that peace and stability in Asia are essential for peace and stability in the world."

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Books *continued*

The other Asian book that invites an early reading is *Mao Tse-Tung: Ruler of Red China,* by Robert Payne (Schuman, $3.50). There is a great deal of confusion today about the real character, ideology and intentions of the leader of the Communist Revolution, now the head of the Peiping Government. That confusion extends even to the great hall at Flushing Meadows, where the UN General Assembly is meeting. Here then is a book that tells the story of Mao's life, enabling us to judge for ourselves. If you like Horatio Alger tales, you will see the son of a hard-bitten peasant of the village of Shao Shan rise to a position of almost limitless power over 400,000,000 Chinese. No one can tell, the author says, where the Chinese revolution will go —but Mao's power will remain unchallenged while he is alive. One reason seems to be his belief in the infinite potentialities of the Chinese.

If we turn our eyes from Asia to Western Europe, we will see there, too, urgent human problems which demand solution and which yet may test the strength of the United Nations. Few are more critical than that of Germany—a nation like Korea, divided by an East-West occupation.

Germany and the Fight for Freedom by General Lucius D. Clay, USA, Retired (Harvard University Press, $2.00), is a dramatic close-up of the "cold war" in this area. The former head of the American occupation forces shows how, when it became clear that *the unification of Germany* by agreement *with Russia* was impossible, the Western authorities established a democratic German government in the zones they administered. Their problem now is to find means to utilize for the good of all Europe the mental and material resources of the German people. The great catalyst must be made to work for the benefit of humanity. That is behind the Schuman plan. There remains the tragedy of a divided people. Someday the General Assembly may have to find the answer for that.

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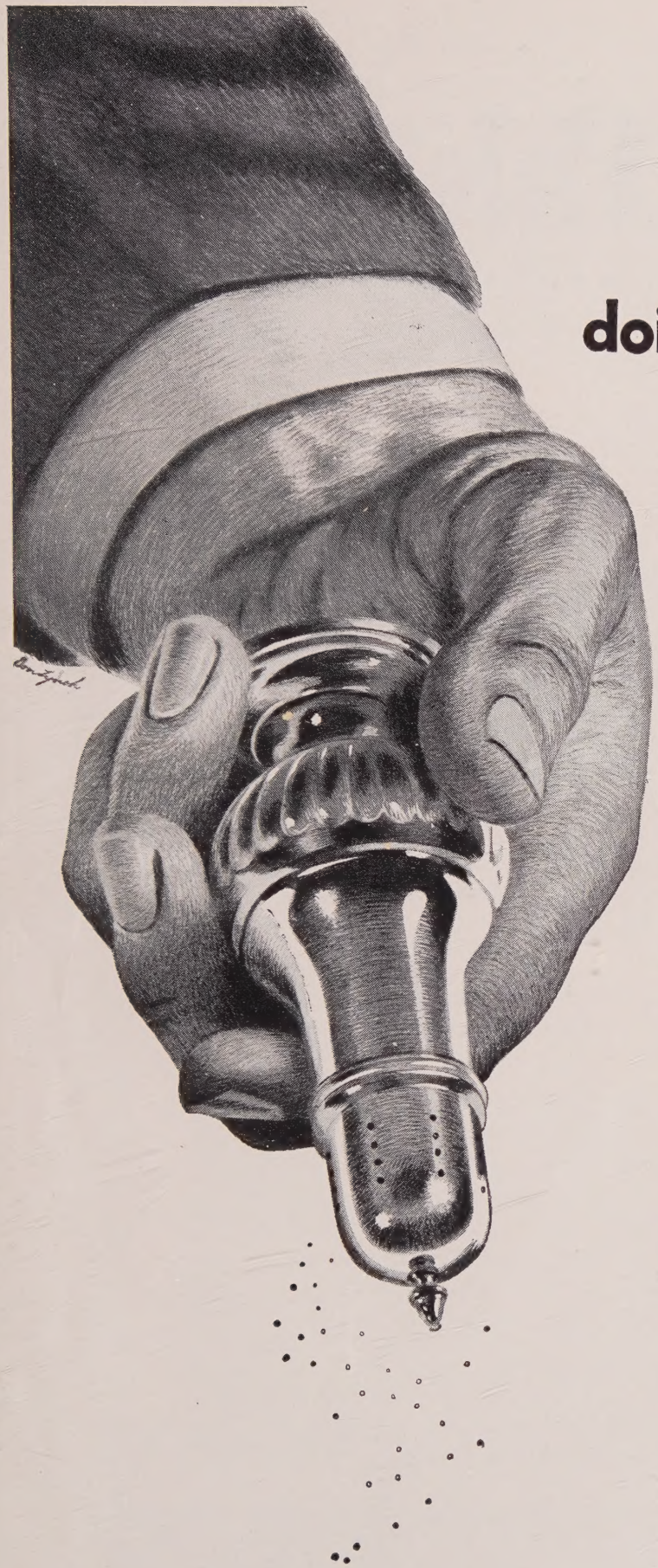

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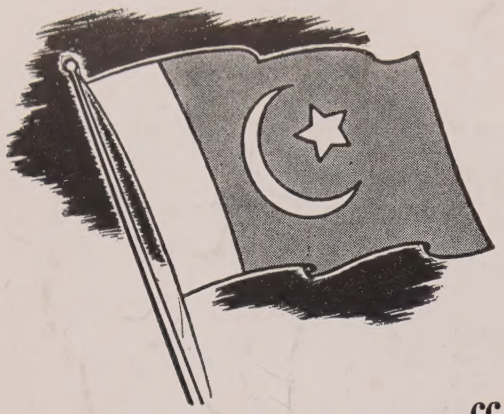

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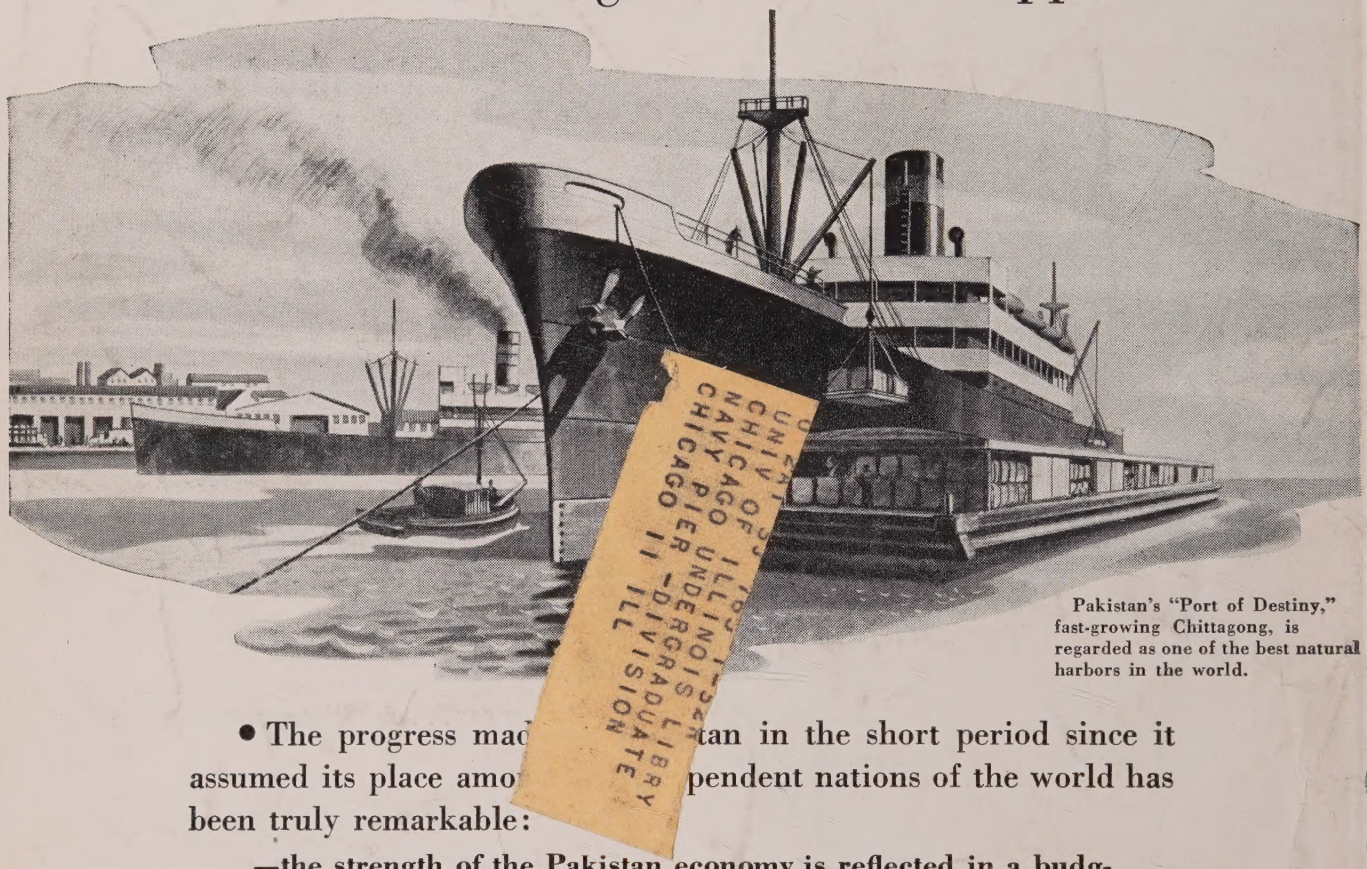

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